

The
AUTHORSHIP
OF
DEUTERONOMY
MCGARVEY



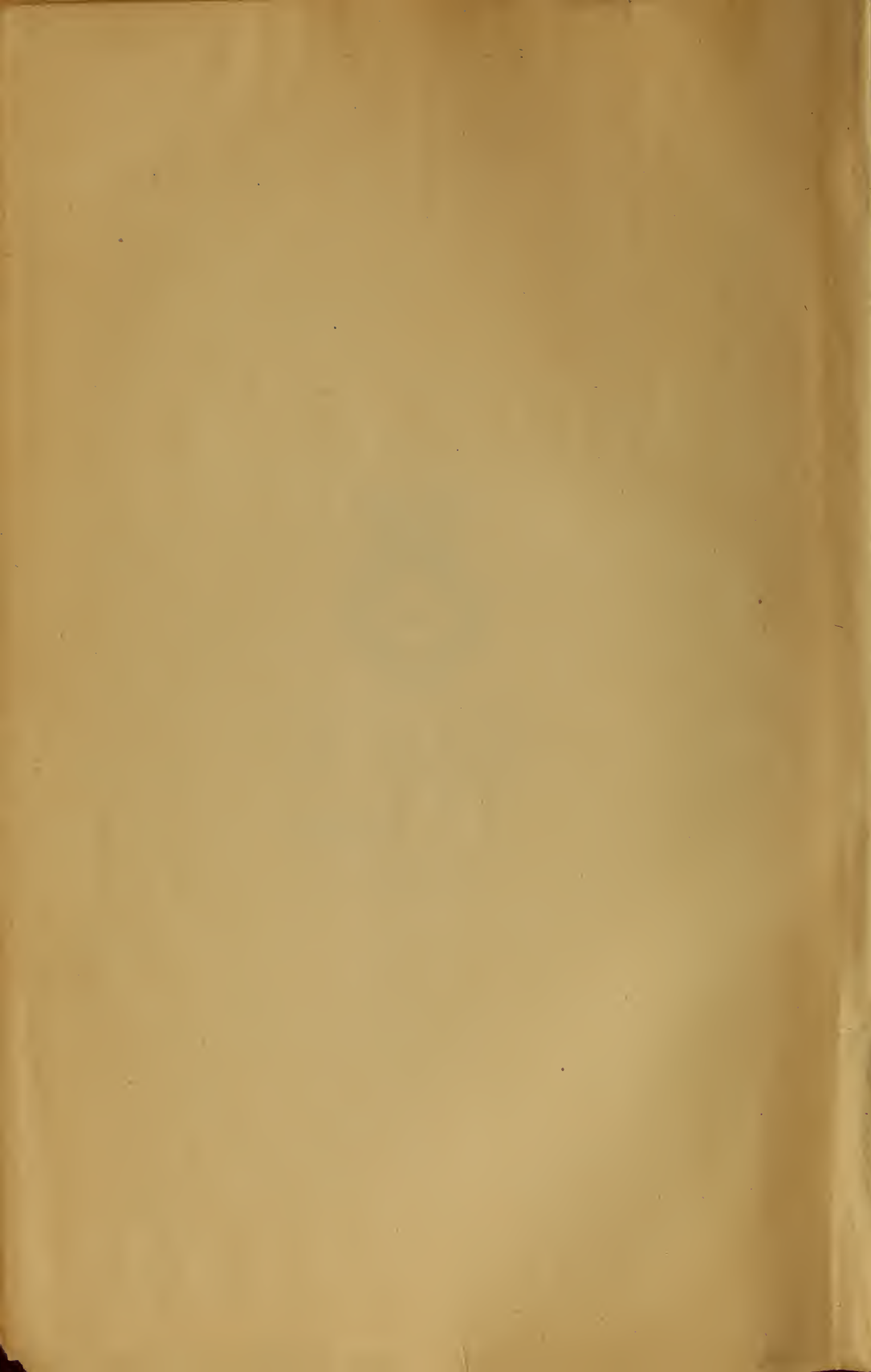
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THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY

WITH ITS BEARINGS ON THE HIGHER
CRITICISM OF THE PENTATEUCH

(... BY...

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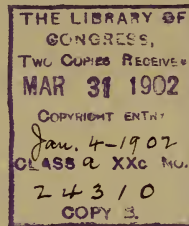
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THE AUTHORSHIP OF DEUTERONOMY.

INTRODUCTION.

§1. APOLOGY FOR WRITING.

If an apology were needed for calling in question the conclusion of those scholars who deny that Moses was the author of the Book of Deuteronomy, it is furnished by these scholars themselves. They constantly insist that men of thought should hold their most cherished convictions subject to revision. They denounce as unreasoning traditionalists those who, rejecting further investigation, cling tenaciously to old beliefs. They are the last men, therefore, who should object to any fresh re-examination of their own conclusions. They would thus be imitating those whose unwillingness to hear them excites their displeasure. In no conclusion are these scholars more confident than in the one just mentioned; and if I shall appear to them exceedingly rash in publishing at this late date an attempt to show that it is erroneous, they are still bound by their own principles not to condemn me without a hearing. If I shall not advance anything new, I may at least place old arguments and evidences in a form somewhat new; and I may be able to point out some defects in their work that have hitherto escaped their notice. I have a right, therefore, to expect among the most interested and appreciative of my readers those whose opinions I am constrained to combat—provided only that my work shall prove worthy the attention of serious men. I did not enter upon it hastily, but after an earnest study of the whole field of controversy for many years.

§2. HIGHER CRITICISM DEFINED.

The process by which the scholars referred to in the preceding section have reached their conclusions, is commonly styled The Higher Criticism. This title distinguishes it

from "Textual Criticism," or the discovery and correction of clerical errors in the original text. Strictly defined, higher criticism is the art of ascertaining the authorship, date, credibility and literary characteristics of written documents.¹ It is a legitimate art, and it has been employed by Biblical scholars ever since the need of such investigations began to be realized. Only, however, within the last hundred years has it borne this title.² Previously both the textual and the higher criticism were known under the common title, "Biblical Criticism." It scarcely needs to be added that the exclusive use of the title Higher Criticism for that application of it which seeks to revolutionize established beliefs in reference to the Bible, is erroneous: as is also the tacit claim of some advocates of these revolutionary efforts to the exclusive title of higher critics.³ All confusion in the use of these terms will be avoided if the definition just given is kept in mind.

This definition will be better understood if we add to it a statement of the method in which the inquiries of the art are properly conducted. This method is well defined by Prof. W. Robertson Smith in these words: "The ordinary laws of evidence and good sense must be our guides. For the transmission of the Bible is not due to a continued miracle, but to a watchful Providence ruling the ordinary means by which all ancient books have been handed down. And finally, when we have

¹ It is defined by Prof. W. H. Green in these words: "Properly speaking, it is an inquiry into the origin and character of the writings to which it is applied. It seeks to ascertain by all suitable means the authors by whom, the time at which, the circumstances under which, and the design with which they were produced" (*Higher Crit. of Pent., Preface*, v.). He omits credibility, and the literary characteristics.

² Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, author of a very learned *Introduction to the Old Testament*, was the first to use the new title, about the close of the eighteenth century. He accepted the analytical theory of the Pentateuch, so far as it had been elaborated, but, like Jean Astruc, who wrote a few years earlier, and who is usually credited with first propounding that theory, he held to the Mosaic authorship.

³ W. L. Baxter says of these: "Their more proper designation would be, *Imaginationist Critics*: they are *higher* than others, solely through building their critical castles in the air, instead of on *terra firma*" (*Sanctuary and Sacrifice: A Reply to Wellhausen*, viii.).

worked our way back through the long centuries which separate us from the age of Revelation, we must, as we have already seen, study each writing and make it speak for itself on the common principles of sound exegesis" (*O. T.*, 18). In other words, the method is to employ the laws of evidence by which other questions of fact are determined, to do this with "good sense," and, when the meaning of the text is to be settled, to interpret it "on the common principles of sound exegesis." When Prof. C. A. Briggs says, "The higher criticism is exact and thorough in its methods" (*Bib. Study*, 194), he speaks truly of these methods when properly defined and applied; but it is unfortunately true that the most exact and thorough methods may, in unskillful hands, or in the hands of men with sinister designs, be employed with disastrous results. Any method of procedure which proposes to apply the laws of evidence, may, by misapplication of those laws, lead to erroneous and unjust decisions. Our courts of justice bear constant witness to this fact. Any procedure in which "good sense," as Professor Smith expresses it, is to be our guide, may, by the lack of good sense on our part, guide us astray. Common sense is a very uncommon commodity, and not less so among men of great learning than among their less fortunate fellows. And as to "the principles of sound exegesis," the scarcity of the scholars who can steadily command and employ these is startlingly attested by the pages of countless commentaries on the various books of the Bible.

From these remarks it naturally follows that higher criticism, however correct the principles by which it seeks to be guided, is, in practice, an extremely variable quantity—so variable as to include the writings of extreme rationalists on the one hand and the most conservative of Biblical scholars on the other. From these premises there springs again the inference that those who have adopted the conclusions of certain critics should not be so confident of their correctness as to practically assume their infallibility. We hear much of "assured results," but there are none so assured as to be exempt from revision. The real issue between the two great parties to the criticism of

the Pentateuch lies here. It is the question, which of the two have employed aright, and do employ aright, the laws of evidence, the maxims of common sense, and the principles of a sound exegesis.

By what title these two parties should be distinguished, is as yet an unsettled question. As we have stated above, the party who favor the analysis have usually styled themselves critics, and their opponents traditionalists; but this is manifestly unjust to the latter; for while there are traditionalists on both sides—that is, men who accept what has been taught by their predecessors without investigation on their own part—yet it can not be denied that the leaders of this party have been as independent and as scholarly in their investigations as their opponents—Thomas Hartwell Horne not less so than S. R. Driver. Again, the analytical party have styled their system modern and scientific, whereas the system which opposes it is equally modern in its argumentation, and whether it is less scientific or not is the question in dispute. Prof. James Robertson, in his *Early Religion of Israel*, employed the titles “Biblical” and “Antibiblical;” but the more conservative school on the other side claim to be equally Biblical, in that they claim to have discovered the real significance of the Bible. Professor Briggs has employed, in his more recent writings, the titles “Critical” and “Anticritical;” but this is to assume that his party alone is critical. If we had, on the analytical side, only the unbelieving originators of the system, the difficulty would disappear, and the distinction of rationalistic, or unbelieving, and believing criticism would be appropriate and exact; but the difficulty is to find distinguishing terms which will include on that side both the radical and the evangelical wings of which it is composed. On the whole, it appears to the present author that the distinction is most fairly preserved by the terms destructive and conservative. By common consent the unbelieving critics are styled destructive, seeing that they would destroy the whole superstructure of Biblical faith. But the so-called evangelical wing seek to destroy belief in the principal part of Old Testament history as it has come down to us, and consequently their

criticism is also destructive to a large extent. These two distinguishing terms are for these reasons employed in the body of this work.

§3. THE ANALYTICAL THEORY OF THE PENTATEUCH.

It is with the application of higher criticism to the Book of Deuteronomy that we are especially concerned in this work. As a result of the labors of a century on the part of a succession of writers, mostly German rationalists, a theory of the origin and structure of the Pentateuch has been evolved which meets with the general approval of those who deny that Moses was its author.⁴ This theory is styled the analytical theory, because of the peculiar analysis of the Pentateuch which it involves. The authorship and date of Deuteronomy is one of the subjects involved in this analysis, and this renders it important to present here a brief outline of the theory to which easy reference may be had in reading the following pages.

It is claimed by the advocates of this theory that the Book of Deuteronomy, or at least the legislative portion of it (chapters xii.-xxvi.), was the first book of the Pentateuch to come into existence. It was first brought into public notice in the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah, king of Judah, and it alone was the book found by the high priest Hilkiah, when he was cleansing the temple, as described in the twenty-second chapter of II. Kings. This was in the year 621 B. C., or about eight hundred years after the death of Moses.⁵ The book had been written but a short time when it was thus found. Critics vary in judgment as to the exact time, but all agree that it had been composed within the previous seventy-five years. These

⁴For a brief historical sketch of this theory, the reader is referred to Wellhausen's article, "Pentateuch," in *Encyc. Brit.*; to Bissell's *Origin and Structure of the Pentateuch*, 42-83; or to either of two hand-books, *Radical Criticism*, by Prof. Francis R. Beattie, of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.; and *The Elements of Higher Criticism*, by Prof. A. C. Zenos, of McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

⁵This opinion was first suggested by De Wette in the year 1817. (Wellhausen, *Encyc. Brit.*; Art. "Pentateuch.")

years were occupied by the idolatrous reigns of Manasseh and Amon, and the first eighteen years of Josiah.

The more radical critics hold that no writing at all came down from the time of Moses, unless it was the Decalogue in a much briefer form than we now have it.⁶ The more conservative class think that the document described in Ex. xxiv. 1-11 as being written by Moses, consecrated by blood, and called "The Book of the Covenant," was really written by Moses. It contained the legislation found in Ex. xx-xxiii. With these exceptions, all who have accepted the analytical theory agree that Moses wrote no part of the Pentateuch. The conception of Moses as an author and lawgiver, which has prevailed among the Jews and Christians alike for so many centuries, is a delusion which has been dispelled by the critical investigations of the nineteenth century.

While all this is held as to Moses, it is not denied that some of the writing which is now found in the Pentateuch came into existence before the date of Deuteronomy. In the ninth century B. C., about the time of Elijah and Elisha, or possibly in the eighth, about the time of Amos and Hosea (the exact time is unsettled), there came into existence two historical documents which contributed to the final formation of the Pentateuch. One of these was written in the northern kingdom, as appears from its more frequent references to persons and places among the ten tribes. It was an attempt at a history of early times, beginning with creation and ending with the death of Joshua. It contained such traditions of those times as had come down orally to the time of its author, and possibly some written document of an earlier period. Its author habitually used the Hebrew name Elohim for God, on account of which he is known as the Elohist writer, and is referred to briefly in critical writing as E. About the same time, some think earlier and some think later, a similar, but independent document ap-

⁶ Thus Kuenen says: "It need not be repeated here that Moses bequeathed no book of the law to the tribes of Israel. Certainly nothing more was committed to writing by him or in his time than the 'ten words' in their original form" (*The Religion of Israel*, II. 7).

peared in the kingdom of Judah, covering the same period of time, containing the stories afloat among the old people of the southern kingdom, and written by an author who uniformly called God Jehovah. He is called the Jehovistic writer, or briefly, J. The stories in the two were to some extent the same, with variations resulting from oral transmission, but each contained some stories not found in the other. It is not pretended that we have any historical account of either of these books, or that any ancient writer, either Biblical or secular, makes any allusion to their existence. It is only claimed that the fact of their existence is traceable in portions of our Pentateuch that were copied from them.

At a still later period, but how late no one pretends to say, except that it was earlier than the writing of Deuteronomy, a third writer took these two books of E and J in hand, and combined them into one, by copying first from one and then from the other, as he thought best, though sometimes, when he was doubtful as to which of two stories was to be preferred, copying both. Occasionally he added something of his own. He is called a redactor, the German term for editor, and for the sake of brevity is usually referred to as R. The resulting document is called JE, and it is supposed that, as a natural result of the compilation, the two older documents passed out of use, and soon perished. The document JE was therefore the only historical book in existence among the Israelites previous to the date of Deuteronomy.

The principal reason for holding that the Book of Deuteronomy came into existence as above described, and that none of the other three books of law existed earlier, is the revolution in worship effected by King Josiah under the influence of this book. It is alleged that previous to Hilkiah's discovery every man was at liberty to build an altar and offer sacrifices where he saw fit, and that all the sacrificial altars that were erected, as Jeremiah expresses it, "on every high hill and under every green tree," were entirely legitimate when the worship was rendered to Jehovah. Many of these places of worship, however, had been consecrated by the Canaanites to the

worship of Baal and other deities, and the Israelites were constantly enticed by the associations of place, and other considerations, to fall into idolatry. It therefore occurred to the writer or writers of Deuteronomy to compose a book in the name of Moses which would pronounce worship at all such places unlawful, and would concentrate all the sacrifices at the altar in front of the temple in Jerusalem. In this way idolatry would be suppressed, and the priesthood of the central sanctuary would be exalted and enriched. The fact that King Josiah, believing the book to be from Moses, enforced this regulation, proves by its success the wisdom of this device.

Thus far, it is to be remembered, neither of the law-books, Exodus, Leviticus or Numbers, had been written; but between the time of Deuteronomy and the beginning of the Babylonian captivity, a priestly law was written containing the regulations now found in chapters xvii.-xxii. of the Book of Leviticus. It is called the law of Holiness, and it is designated by the letter H. We now see that when Judah was led captive into Babylon, they had in hand the legal part of the Book of Deuteronomy, six chapters of Leviticus, and the historical book JE, but no other part of the Pentateuch.

About the close of the Babylonian exile another book was written which contained both history and law. It covered historically the same period of time which had been covered by J and E, but it introduced much new matter. The first chapter of Genesis was now composed, the author J having begun his book with the second chapter. Many other parts of Genesis were also first written by this author, together with the main body of the Books of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers. He was a priest, and he is referred to under the letter P. He wrote about one thousand years after the death of Moses.

But the Pentateuch was not yet completed. The documents JE, D, H and P, out of which it was yet to be compiled, existed separately. The task of compiling them into one fell to the lot of another redactor or editor, who, at or soon after the close of the exile, took in hand the preceding books, and compiled from them the Pentateuch as we now have it, adding,

however, here and there, some matter of his own. This book of the law of Moses was read to the people by Ezra, as described in the eighth chapter of Nehemiah, and this reading was its first publication to the world.

As was said above, it is not claimed that there is any historical account of these various documents, or that any ancient writing contains the faintest allusion to their existence. But it is claimed that the fact of their separate existence and subsequent combination can be demonstrated by separating them now according to their several peculiarities of style and subject-matter. This has been done, and the several documents have been published in separate form. So exact is the process, that in many instances a single short sentence, or a clause of a sentence, is assigned, one part to J, one to E, and another to P. The reader will find this analysis set forth to the eye in colors representing the several sources of the text, in Bissell's *Genesis in Colors*, and in the various volumes of the Polychrome Bible. The several documents are also printed separately in *Documents of the Hexateuch*, by W. E. Addis; and in two works by Prof. Benjamin W. Bacon, of Yale, entitled *Genesis of Genesis*, and *Exodus*. This analysis will not be considered on its merits in the following pages, because it bears only remotely on our subject, and also because in a work entitled *The Unity of Genesis*, the last work that came from the prolific pen of the lamented Prof. William Henry Green, of Princeton, the analytical theory is thoroughly exposed as contrary to the facts in the case. To argue the question again would be a work of supererogation; at least, until some formal reply shall be made to Professor Green.

There are certain important results which attend the theory, and constitute an essential part of it, that are to be stated next.

Should we grant all that has been thus far stated, and yet maintain that all of these supposed writers were divinely inspired so as to write with historical reliability, we could still maintain the authenticity of Old Testament history. But such inspiration is denied. Miraculous aid of any kind is denied by radical critics, and inspiration that guards historical narra-

tives from error is denied by all. Consequently the theory throws a mist of uncertainty over the whole of the historical writings of the Old Testament, and most positively discredits a very large portion of it.

We may state first, as a specific result, that the first ten chapters of Genesis are altogether legendary or mythical. The first two chapters are not, as they appear to be, a history of the creation of the universe and the formation of this earth as an abode for man; but they are two contradictory accounts, one presenting the author P's conception, and the other J's, while both are very far away from describing the reality. The story of the fall is a fable, and it falsely represents the change which took place in man. This change was an upward movement, as the theory of evolution demands. There was no fall of man. The stories of Cain and Abel are equally imaginary, and that of the flood, though self-consistent throughout as it stands, is resolved into two contradictory accounts of some local disaster in the valley of the Euphrates, one written by J and the other by P. The account of the confusion of tongues, and the consequent dispersion of the human race, is an idle attempt to explain by a miracle that which came about in a natural way.

As to the rest of Genesis, the stories of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph are also unreal with the radical critics, who in general deny that any of these men had a real existence. They are mythical heroes, such as were conjured up in the imaginations of the early heathen nations when trying to trace their primitive history. Thus the whole of the Book of Genesis passes away before the mind of the critic, except as its marvellous narratives may be used for illustrations. The more conservative critics retain the belief that these patriarchs had a real existence, but they hesitate to accept the details of much that is written respecting them. They accept some and reject the rest according to each man's individual judgment.

With the radicals, the Israelites were never in bondage to the Egyptians, as described in the Book of Exodus and repeated so constantly in the later books of the Old Testament; but they were a desert tribe, and in the course of their wanderings they

settled on the border of Egypt and incurred Egyptian hostility. The story of deliverance from the Egyptians is therefore wholly false, as is also that of the visit to Mount Sinai and the giving of the law. All the miracles in the wilderness are denied, and it is claimed that the tabernacle in the wilderness never had an existence, the account of it being an imaginary story spun from the brain of P, with Solomon's temple as its model.

The conservatives admit that Israel was in bondage, but they hold that the stories of the ten plagues are exaggerated accounts of natural events. The passage of the Red Sea they strip of all its miraculous incidents, and the law given at Mount Sinai contained nothing more than the little "book of the covenant" now found in Ex. xx.-xxiii. The laws in Leviticus were not given there as is declared both at the beginning and the end of that book, neither were those which are scattered through the Book of Numbers given by Moses. As to the Book of Deuteronomy, we have already seen how its contents are regarded by all these critics, both radical and conservative; for there is no material difference of opinion among them on this matter.

We now see what is made of the Pentateuch, if this theory is true. The question is sometimes raised, What difference does it make whether Moses or some other man wrote the Pentateuch? If this means whether Moses wrote it, or some other man who lived at a time to possess correct information, the difference might be immaterial. But this is not the question. It is, whether Moses is its author, or several unknown men who lived from seven hundred to one thousand years after Moses, and who had no means of correct knowledge. In other words, the question is, whether it came from a man who was the chief actor in much the greater part of its events, and could therefore give an authentic account of them, or from a set of men removed many centuries from the events, whose source of information was nothing better than a hoary tradition, and who have actually given us nothing that is certainly real history.

Another consequence which is a part of the theory is yet to be mentioned. It has been observed by those the least familiar with the new critical literature that it speaks no longer of the Pentateuch, but of the Hexateuch. This is because the Book of Joshua is involved with the Pentateuch in the same supposition as to dates and authorship. It will be remembered that J and E, the first writers, extended their narratives from Adam to the death of Joshua. P also did the same. The Greek translators of the Old Testament, who were the first to divide the Pentateuch into separate books, and to give them their Greek names, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, made the mistake of supposing that these constituted one original book of early history and law, and that the Book of Joshua was a later production. From this mistake originated the title "Pentateuch," signifying five books. But the critics have detected this mistake. They have found that the original work in the hands of Ezra, called the book of the law of Moses, instead of closing with Deuteronomy, extended to the close of what we call the Book of Joshua, and that Hexateuch (a work of six books), and not Pentateuch, is the correct title. The Book of Joshua is with them wholly unhistorical. It falsely represents the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites. It is not true that Joshua invaded the land with a great army, crossing the Jordan by a stupendous miracle, and subduing the tribes of Canaan in two decisive campaigns. It is not true that he divided the land among the tribes, as described in the latter part of the book. All these accounts are inventions of later ages. The true account of the invasion is that very imperfectly given in the early chapters of the Book of Judges; and this is interpreted to mean that one tribe at a time, or two tribes acting together, invaded Canaan, and, after many vicissitudes, finally obtained lodgment among a people much more civilized and enlightened than themselves.

The theory, then, if true, robs the first six books of the Bible of authenticity, and puts their several authors on a lower level than that of ancient heathen historians by separating them many centuries further from the events which they pretend to

record. To the critics themselves this makes the Hexateuch a much more precious work than it was when they gave it credit; for they are never tired, at least the "evangelical" wing, of repeating the assertion of this increased preciousness. However difficult it is to account for this, I suppose that we must credit them with telling the truth; but with the great mass of believers in Christ and the Bible the feeling must ever be the reverse of this. They feel now, and will forever feel, the utmost disgust for a set of books with the pretenses made in these, that are after all nothing more than these critics represent them to be.

§4. THE SUSPICIOUS SOURCES OF THIS THEORY.

Before we consider the evidences for and against this theory, it is proper that we note some *prima-facie* considerations which cast upon it a cloud of suspicion.

Those who have wrought it out were unbelievers, and were moved in their labors by hostility to the Bible and the Christian religion. Especially is this true of the two scholars to whom, above all others, the present form of the theory owes its completion and defense, A. Kuenen, now deceased, and Julius Wellhausen, who is still living.⁷ They unhesitatingly reject as incredible all accounts of supernatural events, including those connected with the career of Christ. These statements are freely admitted by the advocates of the theory, and some of them strive, as best they can, to ward off the suspicion thence arising.

⁷ In the introduction to his *Religion of Israel*, Kuenen says: "For us the Israelitish is one of these religions (the 'principal religions'), nothing less, but also nothing more" (p. 5). "As soon as it began to be clear that the testimony of Israel's sacred books could not stand the test of a searching inquiry; as soon as it appeared that they were least trustworthy just in those places where their accounts seemed to afford the most unequivocal proof of the truth of supernaturalism—from that moment, especially in connection with all the other motives which lead to the rejection of supernaturalism, its fall was an assured fact" (p. 11 f.). "The representation of Israel's early history presented to us in the books named after Moses and Joshua, must be rejected as in its entirety impossible. Prejudice alone can deny that the miracles related in the same writings must be rejected at the same time" (p. 22).

ing. W. Robertson Smith acknowledges his own indebtedness to these two scholars in the following two sentences: "The first to attempt a connected history of the religion of Israel on the premises of the newer criticism was Professor Kuenen, the value of whose writings is admitted by candid inquirers of every school." "Taken as a whole, the writings of Wellhausen are the most notable contribution to the historical study of the Old Testament since the great work of Ewald, and almost every part of the present lectures owes something to them" (*Prophets*, 12, 13). Professor Briggs makes a similar acknowledgment, and seeks to guard against its effect: "We should not allow ourselves to be influenced by the circumstance that the majority of the scholars who have been engaged in these researches have been rationalistic or semi-rationalistic in their religious opinions; and that they have employed the methods and style peculiar to the German scholarship of our century. Whatever may have been the motives and influences that led to these investigations, the questions we have to determine are: (1) What are the facts in the case, and (2) do the theories account for the facts?" (*Bib. Study*, 212). But it is vain to attempt to allay suspicion by such remarks as these. When the enemies of the Bible invent and propagate theories in the direct effort to destroy faith in the Bible, the friends of the Book must necessarily be suspicious of them; for such men would not be satisfied with their own works did they not believe that the Bible is discredited by them.

Prof. W. H. Green expresses himself on this point, with his usual calmness, in the following words: "It is noteworthy that the partition hypotheses in all their forms have been elaborated from the beginning in the interest of unbelief. The unfriendly animus of an opponent does not indeed absolve us from patiently and candidly examining his arguments, and accepting whatever facts he may adduce, though we are not bound to receive his perverted interpretations of them. Nevertheless, we can not intelligently nor safely overlook the palpable bias against the supernatural which has infected the critical theories which we have been reviewing, from first to last. All the

acknowledged leaders of the movement have, without exception, scouted the reality of miracles and prophecy and immediate divine revelation in their genuine and evangelical sense. Their theories are all inwrought with naturalistic presuppositions which can not be disentangled from them without their falling to pieces" (*H. C. of P.*, 157).

When the armies of one nation surrender to those of another it is usually understood that the latter has won its cause. So, if the army of the Lord shall surrender to the enemies of the Bible in respect to the nature of the Bible itself, it is inevitable that the onlooking world will take it that the cause of unbelief has triumphed. It should also be said in this connection, that the same rationalistic scholars who have evolved the analytical theory of the Pentateuch have espoused all of the old infidel objections to the various books of the Old Testament, and have made these important parts of their argument in favor of the analysis. Their triumph, therefore, would be the triumph of infidelity in its oldest and most radical forms. If it is able to triumph thus, let it be so; but let no man who hopes for salvation in Christ surrender to the enemy unless he shall be compelled to do so after exhausting all the resources of evidence and logic within his reach. That the analytical theory of the Pentateuch originated with and has been developed by the enemies of the Bible, while it does not indeed necessarily prove it to be false, establishes a strong logical presumption that it is so, and demands of believers that they continue to combat it until their last weapon shall have been used in vain.

§5. THE UNBELIEVING TENDENCY OF THIS THEORY.

If the actual tendency of accepting the theory in question is toward unbelief in the Christian religion, this fact is the strongest possible vindication of such a work as the present. That the theory is at least dangerous in this respect, is acknowledged by one of its most able advocates, Prof. Andrew Harper, in the following words: "The debate concerning the critical views of the Old Testament has reached a stage at which

it is no longer confined to professed teachers and students of the Old Testament. It has filtered down, through magazines first, and then through newspapers, into the public mind, and opinions are becoming current concerning the results of criticism which are so partial and ill-informed that they can not but produce evil results of a formidable kind in the near future." Again, after stating his own conclusions with respect to Deuteronomy, he says: "They have been reached after a careful consideration of the evidence on both sides, and are stated here not altogether without regret. . . . For, as Robertson Smith has well said, 'to the ordinary believer the Bible is precious as the practical rule of faith and love in which God still speaks directly to his heart. No criticism can be otherwise than hurtful to faith if it shakes the confidence with which the simple Christian turns to his Bible, assured that he can receive every message which it brings to his soul as a message from God himself.' Now, though it can be demonstrated that the view of Scripture which permits of such conclusions as those stated above is quite compatible with this believing confidence, there can be little doubt that Christian people will for a time find great difficulty in accepting this assurance. The transition from the old view of inspiration, so complete, comprehensible and effective as it is, to the newer and less definite doctrine, can not fail to be trying, and the introduction of it here can not but be a disturbing influence which it would have been greatly preferable to avoid" (*Com.*, 2, 34). Such utterances as these, so candid and yet so reluctantly made, imply the consciousness of a danger much greater than they express. The actual results have been even more serious than these thoughtful men apprehended. J. J. Lias, one of the ablest writers on this subject in Great Britain, says in his *Principles of Biblical Criticism*: "A statement has been widely circulated in the public press that the number of persons in Germany who this year (1893) declared themselves to be of no religion is *fourteen* times as great as in 1871. Is there no connection between this fact and the manner in which German criticism has treated the Bible?" (216, note).

This necessary tendency of the theory in question will receive further notice in the body of this work, when we come to speak of its bearing on the assertions of Jesus and his apostles. It is but just to say, however, before leaving the subject at present, that many scholars, especially in Great Britain and America, have accepted the analytical theory without accepting the sweeping denial of all miracles which is common among its originators. But this makes the evil tendency inherent in the theory itself all the more dangerous from the common habit among men of accepting injurious teaching from apparent friends of the truth much more readily than from avowed enemies. On this point Professor Green very justly says: "It is only recently that there has been an attempt at compromise on the part of certain believing scholars, who are disposed to accept these critical theories and endeavor to harmonize them with the Christian faith. But the inherent vice in these systems can not be eradicated. The inevitable result has been to lower the Christian faith to the level of these perverted theories instead of lifting the latter up to the level of a Christian standard."

§6. RELATION OF DEUTERONOMY TO THIS THEORY.

The alleged late date and unknown authorship of the Book of Deuteronomy are so involved in this theory of the Pentateuch as a part of it, that the disproof thereof would shatter the whole superstructure. This is apparent when we remember that the theory assumes the pre-existence of the documents J and E in order to account for historical allusions in Deuteronomy. If, then, this last book is thrown back to the time of Moses, it necessarily carries back with it these preceding documents, and thus the whole scheme is broken to pieces: for it is inconceivable that J and E were written before the time of Moses. Prof. Andrew Harper indirectly admits this when he says: "Deuteronomy has been the key of the position, the center of the conflict, in the battle which has been waged so hotly as to the growth of religion in Israel. The attack on the views

hitherto so generally held within the church in regard to that matter has rested more upon the character and the date of Deuteronomy than upon anything else" (*Com.*, 2). It is for this reason, chiefly, that the authorship of this book has been selected as the subject of this volume. While it is a matter of importance in itself to know the authorship of a book so invaluable, its importance is greatly enhanced by the consideration that in settling this question we virtually settle the same respecting the other books of the Pentateuch. It would argue, perhaps, an extreme of self-confidence were the author to express the conviction that what he has said will settle this question, for doubtless the time and labor to be expended ere the critical superstructure of a century's growth can be undermined and demolished, as the present author believes it certainly will be, are likely to be somewhat commensurate with those by which it was built up. The conflict hitherto has been chiefly that between the warring factions among the advanced critics themselves; hereafter it will be between the united advocates of the finally accepted theory and the friends of the Bible as it is. It is for the purpose of taking an humble part in this conflict that this volume is presented to the public.

§7. PLAN OF THIS WORK.

The natural order in which to discuss the authorship of a book is to begin with the claim set up in the book itself, and consider first the internal evidences for and against it. This would have been the order of the present discussion but for the fact that certain prepossessions have taken hold of the minds of many, and until these are removed a favorable consideration of this evidence would be well-nigh impossible. It therefore seemed to the author wiser to begin with the arguments and evidences which have been arrayed on the negative side of the question, and to divide the discussion into two parts, of which Part I. is a consideration of the grounds on which the Mosaic authorship is denied, and Part II. a presentation of those on which it is affirmed.

Even with this beginning we might have been expected to consider first the internal evidence against the Mosaic authorship, but there stands in the forefront of the negative position the assumption mentioned in a previous section (3, p. vii) as to the actual origin of the book, and this takes precedence of all other considerations. Our discussion begins, therefore, with what the adverse critics have said with reference to the book discovered by the priest Hilkiah, as recorded in the twenty-second chapter of II. Kings.

In representing the positions and arguments which I controvert, I have not usually stated them in my own words, lest I might be suspected of misrepresenting them, and lest I should in some instances unwittingly do so; but I have quoted freely from representative authors. In pursuing this course, I have taken pains to follow on every leading issue the line of argumentation pursued by that scholar on the other side who seemed to present the case with the greatest force; and where it appeared important I have appended foot-notes referring for confirmation to other authors. If this method shall appear to any reader a more personal form of controversy than courtesy might suggest, I beg him to consider that it gives more directness and piquancy to discussion; and not to forget that when an author places himself before the public as an antagonist of established and cherished beliefs, he voluntarily exposes himself to direct attack. If, in this somewhat personal controversy, I have at any time overstepped the bounds of courtesy, I offer as my apology the indignation which must ever stir the breast of a friend of the Bible when he sees it assailed by arguments so shallow and sophistical as to be unworthy of their authors. And if at any time I have indulged in lightness, it should be remembered that ridicule, when justly administered, is a most proper and effective weapon in the defense of truth.

§8. AUTHORITIES AND ABBREVIATIONS.

a. List of works chiefly consulted in preparing this volume:

The Prophets of Israel: W. Robertson Smith.

Old Testament in the Jewish Church: same author; second edition.

Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament: S. R. Driver; sixth edition.

International Critical Commentary: Deuteronomy: same author.

Expositor's Bible: Deuteronomy: Andrew Harper.

The Documents of the Hexateuch: W. E. Addis.

International Critical Commentary: Judges: George F. Moore.

The Canon of the Old Testament: Herbert E. Ryle.

The Expositor's Bible: Isaiah: George Adam Smith.

Biblical Study: Charles A. Briggs.

Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch: same author.

The Prophecies of Isaiah: T. K. Cheyne.

Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges: Hosea: same author.

Polychrome Bible: Isaiah: same author.

Polychrome Bible: Joshua: W. H. Bennett.

Polychrome Bible: Judges: George F. Moore.

Articles "Israel" and "Pentateuch," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*: ninth edition: Julius Wellhausen.

Prolegomena to Old Testament: same author.

The Religion of Israel: Abraham Kuenen.

The Oracles of God: W. Sanday.

Triple Tradition of the Exodus: Benj. W. Bacon.

The Unity of Genesis: William Henry Green.

Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch: same author.

The Pentateuch: Its Origin and Structure: E. C. Bissell.

Lex Mosaica: Essays by Twelve Eminent Scholars of Great Britain.

Sanctuary and Sacrifice: W. L. Baxter.

Principles of Biblical Criticism: J. J. Lias.

Early Religion of Israel: James Robertson.

Prophecy and History in Reference to the Messiah: Alfred Edersheim.

Did Moses Write the Pentateuch after All? : F. E. Spencer.

Inspiration of the Old Testament : Alfred Cave.

The Veracity of the Hexateuch : S. C. Bartlett.

The Higher Critics Criticised : Rufus P. Stebbins and H. L. Hastings.

The Ancient Hebrew Tradition : Fritz Hommel.

b. Abbreviations used in citing books in the preceding list that are most frequently referred to:

In connection with the name of W. Robertson Smith, *Prophets* stands for "The Prophets of Israel;" *O. T.*—"Old Testament in the Jewish Church."

In connection with the name of S. R. Driver, *Int.*—"Introduction to Old Testament Literature;" *Com.*—"Commentary on Deuteronomy."

In connection with Andrew Harper, *Com.*—"Commentary on Deuteronomy."

In connection with W. E. Addis, *D. of H.*—"Documents of the Hexateuch."

In connection with Charles A. Briggs, *Bib. Study*—"Biblical Study;" *H. C. of H.*—"Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch."

In connection with T. K. Cheyne, *Isaiah*—"The Prophecies of Isaiah;" *Hosea*—"Commentary on Hosea;" *Pol. Isaiah*—"Isaiah in the Polychrome Bible."

Encyc. Brit.—"Encyclopedia Britannica;" *Encyc. Bib.*—"Encyclopedia Biblica;" *Lex M.*—"Lex Mosaica."

In connection with W. H. Green, *H. C. of P.*—"Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch."

In connection with W. L. Baxter, *Sanc. and Sac.*—"Sanctuary and Sacrifice."

In connection with Alfred Edersheim, *P. and H.*—"Prophecy and History in Reference to the Messiah."

In connection with Alfred Cave, *I. O. T.*—"Inspiration of the Old Testament."

PART I.

EVIDENCES FOR THE LATE DATE.

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§1. EVIDENCE FROM THE ACCOUNT OF HILKIAH'S DISCOVERY.

There is nothing on which destructive critics are more fully agreed, or more confident in their convictions, than that the book found in the temple by the priest Hilkiah, as described in the twenty-second chapter of II. Kings, was the legal part of the Book of Deuteronomy; and that this was the first time that a book of law existed in Israel. This conclusion is argued with great confidence from the account of the book given in the chapter named and the chapter following. I regard the second chapter of Ryle's *Canon of the Old Testament* as the strongest and clearest presentation of this line of argument known to me, and he shall be my guide in the discussion of it. Professor Ryle introduces the discussion with the following paragraph:

It is not till the year 621 B. C., the eighteenth year of the reign of King Josiah, that the history of Israel presents us with the first instance of a book which was regarded by all—king, priests, prophets and people alike—as invested not only with sanctity, but also with supreme authority in all matters of religion and conduct (p. 47.)

To avoid misunderstanding on the part of readers not familiar with the subject, I should remark that the author does not here mean to deny the previous existence of the conjectural documents J and E of the critics, which, according to the analytical theory, had been written from one to two hundred years earlier; but these documents, according to hypothesis, were historical in their contents, and not books of law. (See *Int.*, p ix.).

Before entering upon his argument, Professor Ryle makes another statement as to the appreciation which was at once accorded the book, in the following paragraph:

In this familiar scene, "the book of the law" stands in the position of Canonical Scripture. It is recognized as containing the words of the Lord (xxii. 18, 19). Its authority is undisputed and indisputable. On the strength of its words the most sweeping measures are carried out by the king and accepted by the people. The whole narrative, so graphically told by one who was possibly a contemporary of the events he describes, breathes the conviction that the homage paid to "the book" was nothing more than its just due (p. 48).

These words we must not forget, for they have a potent bearing on the arguments by which the author proceeds to support his first proposition.

To the minds of all scholars opposed to destructive criticism, these words are perfectly acceptable; and all the results of finding the book are precisely what should be expected. For if, as they believe, and as the Scriptures assert, the whole Pentateuch had been in existence since the days of Moses, it would have disappeared from public view during the long reign of Manasseh, who abolished the religion which it inculcated, turned the temple of Jehovah into a heathen pantheon, practiced every idolatrous rite known to the pagan tribes around him, and shed innocent blood from one end of Jerusalem to the other. It would have been as much as the life of any Jew was worth during that period to have possessed a copy of the divine law and sought to propagate its teaching. And that period had lasted, though not in its greatest darkness, for seventy-five years, including the fifty-five of Manasseh's reign, the two of his son Amon, and the first eighteen of Josiah. Josiah himself, being the son of Amon and grandson of Manasseh, had enjoyed during their lifetime no opportunity to see the book of the law, or to learn anything of its contents. It was only after his father's death, when he was eight years old, that men and women of faith who had lived through the period of apostasy, and who remembered some of the contents of the law of Moses, had an opportunity to impart to his young mind what they themselves remembered of the word of God. That some such knowledge was imparted to him is evident from the fact that in the eighth year of his reign "he began to seek after the God of his father David;" and in the twelfth year of the same "he

began to purge Jerusalem and Judah from the high places, and the Asherim, and the graven images, and the molten images" (II. Chron. xxxiv. 3). At this time he had undoubtedly learned that Israel once had a law; that under the leadership of his grandfather they had departed from it; and that it was his duty to lead the people back to it. He knew from what worship his grandfather had departed, and knew that idolatry in all its forms was unlawful in Israel. He was well prepared then, should the book of the law be put into his hands, to receive it as the ancient law of his God and his country, and to give it the reverence which it deserved.

Again, when Hilkiah found the book of the law in the temple, he found it just where it ought to have been; and the finding caused no surprise, unless it was because it had not perished while the temple was so grossly defiled. For an express provision of the law required that the Book of Deuteronomy should be kept in the temple "by the side of the ark of the covenant" (Deut. xxxi. 24-26). And though we find no express command like this in regard to the preservation of the other portions of the Pentateuch, we may infer with full confidence that, if they existed, the priests and Levites realized that they must be kept in the same place of security.

With all this agree perfectly the words of Hilkiah when he handed the book to Shaphan, the scribe or secretary of the king. He said, "I have found the book of the law in the house of Jehovah" (II. Kings xxii. 8). This is the style of one to whom the title of the book was familiar. He did not say, "a book containing the law of Jehovah;" nor, "a book which appeareth to be the law of Jehovah;" but, "the book of the law of Jehovah." It is not the language of one to whom the book was a new thing, but that of one to whom it was perfectly well known, but had been in some sense lost.

The words, "I have *found* the book," do not necessarily imply that it had been hidden, although it may have been. It may be that some faithful priest, at the beginning of Manasseh's desecration of the temple, had hidden it to prevent its destruction, and that in thoroughly cleansing the walls and floor

of the temple its hiding-place was disclosed; but the words may be as well accounted for if, after the long time in which it was exposed to destruction, he found it where it had been kept ever since the erection of the temple. The agents of Manasseh, notwithstanding their hatred of the book and its contents, may have permitted it to remain in its place, because in that place it was out of the reach of the people and in their own possession. The history which it contained might have served as a motive for leaving it undisturbed so long as the worship which it enjoined was being effectually suppressed.

Finally, when the book was read to the king, then by the prophetess Huldah, and then by the king himself to the people, the consternation and alarm which its threatenings excited are precisely such as would naturally occur if the book was known to be the old law-book of the nation given by God through Moses; but they are unnatural, and even incredible, on any other hypothesis.

We may also remark, in addition, that every single act of the reformation which resulted from the discovery of this book would just as naturally and certainly have resulted had the book been the whole Pentateuch, as if it had been only the legal portion of the Book of Deuteronomy. What, then, can be the motive for denying that it was the whole Pentateuch, and by what course of reasoning is that denial supported? Professor Ryle undertakes to formally answer this question, and I copy his argument in full:

When we inquire what this "book of the law" comprised, the evidence at our disposal is quite sufficiently explicit to direct us to a reply. Even apart from the knowledge which we now possess of the structure of the Pentateuch, there never was much probability in the supposition that the book discovered by Hilkiah was identical with the whole Jewish "Torah," our Pentateuch. The narrative does not suggest so considerable a work. Its contents were quickly perused and readily grasped. Being read aloud, it at once left distinct impressions upon questions of national duty. Its dimensions could not have been very large nor its precepts very technical. The complex character of the Pentateuch fails to satisfy the requirements of the picture. Perhaps, too (although the argument is hardly one to be pressed), as it appears that only a single roll of the Law was found, it may not unfairly be remarked that the whole Torah was never likely to be contained in one roll; but that, if a single roll contained

any portion of the Pentateuch, it was most probably the Deuteronomic portion of it; for the Book of Deuteronomy, of all the component elements of the Pentateuch, presents the most unmistakable appearance of having once formed a compact independent work (p. 48f.).

The question here raised is vital in this discussion; that is, it is vital as respects the analytical theory. With those who credit the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy, it is immaterial whether the book was the whole Pentateuch or Deuteronomy alone; but with the other party it is absolutely essential to show that it was not the whole Pentateuch, because it is an essential part of their theory that much the greater part of the Pentateuch had not been written when this book was found. For this reason nearly every writer in favor of the theory makes some attempt at argument on this point.

The first point of argument in the preceding extract is that the book was read in too short a time, and that it left impressions too distinct for the whole Pentateuch. In making this argument the professor draws on his imagination; for there is nothing said in the text about the time consumed in the reading. Mr. Addis goes further still. He says: "It would have been a sheer impossibility to read the Pentateuch, or even the legal portions of the Pentateuch, through aloud, in one day; much less could it have been read twice in one day." He says further that "the kernel of Deuteronomy (*i. e.*, Deut. iv. 45 to xxvi., or possibly xii. to xxvi.; xxvii. 9, 10; xxviii.; xxxi. 9-13) exactly meets the required conditions. It could be read through aloud in between three and four hours at most" (*D. of H.*, lxxv.).

Doubtless Mr. Addis is right in asserting that the portions of Deuteronomy which he selects as the probable contents of the book could be read through in between three and four hours; but, in order to reduce the time to this limit, he has to assume that the book contained only the chapters and verses which he cites. If it was the whole Book of Deuteronomy, it would have required six hours to read it through, and to have read it twice in one day would have filled the day from sun to sun. But Shaphan read it once to himself; he read it to the king once;

and then Huldah either read it or pronounced judgment concerning its contents without reading it, which is highly improbable (II. Kings xxii. 8, 10, 14-16). These three readings are rather too much for one day, even if the contents were as meager as Mr. Addis supposes; and it follows either that more than one day was occupied, or that only a part of the contents of the book was read; that is, the part which alarmed the king and caused him to rend his clothes. Chapters xxviii. to xxx. would have been sufficient for this; and this part of Deuteronomy, or any other part of it, may have been read to the king if the book from which it was read was the whole Pentateuch. Indeed, this is the very part of the whole Pentateuch which it was most important for him to hear, seeing that it, above all other parts, presented the fearful penalties which God had prescribed for such an apostasy as that under Manasseh and Amon. The only thing that militates against this view of the reading is, that when the king read to the people, it is said that "he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of Jehovah" (xxiii. 2). But while these words most naturally include all the contents of the book, they may refer to only those words connected immediately with "the covenant;" and the covenant is especially emphasized in the denunciatory passage just mentioned. (See xxix. 1-13). Huldah uses the same universal expression, when she says (16): "Thus saith Jehovah, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of Judah hath read." Here, although she says "all the words of the book," she clearly limits her meaning to those in which evil to the city and its people is predicted. This justifies us in limiting the same expression, when applied to the public reading, to the same part of the book. Unless, then, we construe this passage to mean that all the contents of the book were read, as well as the part pertaining to the covenant and its violation, the reading could have been done from a book containing the whole of the Pentateuch as well as from one containing Deuteronomy alone. It follows that whether the book was Deuteronomy alone, or part of our

present Deuteronomy, is involved in great uncertainty, to say the least, and that to this extent the same uncertainty hangs over that part of the analytical theory which assigns a later date than that of Deuteronomy to the greater portion of our present Pentateuch. An adverse decision on this point would be an obstacle not to be overcome by any argumentation in favor of the analytical theory. This uncertainty is enhanced when we consider the bearing of another passage in the history of Josiah. It is said (xxiii. 25): "And like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to Jehovah with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses." What is meant here by "all the law of Moses"? The expression certainly includes the book of the law found by Hilkiah; but if the analytical theory is true, it includes more; for, according to that theory, the documents J and E were already in existence, and they were well known to the author of Kings. But J contained not only his history from the creation to the death of Joshua, but also the laws now found in Ex. xx. to xxiii., originally called "The Book of the Covenant." Josiah walked, then, according to all that was written in this book, and in the whole of the books J and E. But where did he find the latter after the apostasy of his father and his grandfather, unless they were included in the book of the law found by Hilkiah? We have no hint of any other book of the law known to him. Certainly, then, the critics ought to admit that J and E were in Hilkiah's book; and if these were there, their line of argument against the presence in it of the whole Pentateuch breaks down, so far as it is derived from the account given of Hilkiah's discovery.

Before leaving this branch of the argument, I may add that Andrew Harper, who is the peer of any other writer on the analytical side, unlike Addis and many others, admits that the book in question was substantially Deuteronomy as we now have it. He says:

That this was Deuteronomy, if not altogether, yet practically, as we have it now, there can be but little doubt; and it immediately

became the text-book of religion for all that remained of Israel (*Expositor's Bible, Deuteronomy*, p. 45).

He forgets, as his colleagues do, the "book of the covenant" embodied in J and JE.

The second point of argument in the extract which I have made from Ryle's *Canon* is based on the assumption that the whole Pentateuch was never likely to be contained in one roll. Unlike the majority of his class of critics, however, he admits that this argument is "hardly one to be pressed." It certainly is not, for two reasons; first, that the document is nowhere called a roll, but always a book; and, second, that as the Pentateuch was always spoken of in ancient times by the Jews as one book, it follows that when written on a roll instead of leaves, it is most probable that one roll received it all. The roll would be a large one, but large rolls were no more objectionable in the time of manuscripts than large volumes were after the time of printing. But it is idle to argue about the size of a roll containing the whole Pentateuch, when the document in question was not a *roll*, but a *book*.

It is surprising with what caution Professor Ryle expresses himself on the question whether the book found by Hilkiah was our Deuteronomy, or a part of it, and, if a part, what part. He says:

We seem to have convincing proof that the "book of the law" was either a portion of our Deuteronomy, or a collection of laws Deuteronomic in tone, and, in range of contents, having a close resemblance to our Book of Deuteronomy (p. 49).

When we consider that it is a necessary part of the analytical theory of the Pentateuch to establish the identity of that book with Deuteronomy, or, at least, with the legal portion of it, this mode of speech is vague enough; and it shows that the writer's own convictions on the subject were in a nebulous condition. In his attempts at proof we find, as we should naturally expect, the same vagueness which characterizes his proposition. He claims that the evidence is twofold, and the first form of it he states in these words:

1. The description which is given of the book found in the temple shows that, in the most characteristic feature, it approximated

more closely to portions of Deuteronomy than to any other section of the Pentateuch (*ib.*).

This vagueness should not be held as a reproach to Professor Ryle, but rather as an evidence of his conscientiousness, and of his logical discrimination. He is too logical to deduce positive conclusions from doubtful premises, and too conscientious to affirm what he feels that he can not prove. But he proceeds to present what proofs he has, and we patiently consider them:

(a) The book contains denunciations against the neglect of the covenant with Jehovah (II. Kings xxii. 11, 13, 16, 17). Now, the Pentateuch contains two extensive passages describing the fearful visitations that should befall the people of Israel for following after other gods (Lev. xxvi.; Deut. xxviii.-xxxi.). Of these, the passage in Deuteronomy is the longest, and while the passage in Leviticus would be calculated to make a very similar impression, it may be noticed that the words of Huldah, referring to the curse contained in "the book of the law," possibly contain a reference to Deut. xxviii. 37 and xxix. 24 (cf. II. Kings xxii. 19). It can not be doubted that one or the other, or both, of these denunciations must have been included in Josiah's "book of the law" (p. 50).

As proof that the denunciations which alarmed Josiah were those in Deuteronomy rather than those in Leviticus, this is feebleness itself. It turns upon the "possibility," not the certainty, nor even the probability, that the words of Huldah contain a reference to two particular verses in Deuteronomy. What are these particular words of Huldah? The verse cited reads: "Because thine heart was tender, and thou didst humble thyself before Jehovah, when thou heardest what I spake against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, that they should become a desolation and a curse, and hast rent thy clothes, and wept before me; I have also heard thee, saith Jehovah." These are the words of Huldah, and the verses in Deuteronomy to which she "possibly" had reference are these: "And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword, among all the peoples whither Jehovah shall lead thee away" (Deut. xxviii. 37); "Even all the nations shall say, Wherefore hath Jehovah done this unto this land? What meaneth the heat of this great anger?" (xxix. 24). Well might the professor say that the words of Huldah

possibly contain a reference to the latter two verses. When all three of the verses are merely cited by their chapter and verse numbers, the reader may possibly think that possibly there is such a reference; but when they are all quoted in full, *seriatim*, he can judge of this possibility, and he can see why our cautious author uses the adverb "possibly"—an expression not characteristic of conclusive reasoning.

But, apart from all this reasoning from *possible* premises, we may freely admit, and our position requires us to admit, what Professor Ryle states as his conclusion, that "one or the other, or both these denunciations must have been included in Josiah's 'book of the law;'" for if it was the denunciations in Lev. xxvi. that alarmed him, this would show that the Book of Leviticus was in the volume; if it was those in Deuteronomy, this would only prove that Deuteronomy was in the book; and if Shaphan read both sets of denunciations, it only proves that Leviticus and Deuteronomy were both in the book. In other words, whatever proof is found that the Book of Deuteronomy is quoted or referred to in this account is proof that the Book of Deuteronomy was in the manuscript, as it must have been if the manuscript was the whole Pentateuch; but it is not proof, it can not be, that the other books of the Pentateuch were absent from it. It is on this last point, as we shall see again and again, that the whole line of argument which we are considering is fatally defective.

The second argument under this head is stated by Professor Ryle in the following words:

(b) The reforms carried out by the king and his advisers, in order to obey the commands of the "book of the law," deal with matters all of which are mentioned, with more or less emphasis, in the Deuteronomic legislation (p. 50).

Suppose this to be true, and what does it prove? If it were found, upon further examination, that these reforms deal with matters not mentioned in any book of the Pentateuch except Deuteronomy, it would certainly prove that Deuteronomy was in the book that was found; but it would not prove that the rest of the Pentateuch was not in it. The doctrinal

part of Luther's Reformation turned upon the teaching found in Paul's two epistles, Galatians and Romans; but this is by no means proof that Luther's New Testament contained none of the other books that are in ours.

But let us examine the specifications adduced in support of this proposition:

(i) The principal religious reform carried out by Josiah was the suppression of the worship at the high places, and concentration of the worship at the temple. No point is insisted on so frequently and so emphatically in the Deuteronomic laws as that all public worship is to be centralized at the one place which Jehovah himself should choose (Deut. xii. 5 and *passim*).

Grant all this and what is proved by it beyond the fact that Deuteronomy was part of the book? What proof does it afford that Deuteronomy, or some part of Deuteronomy, or "a collection of laws Deuteronomic in tone," was *all* of the book? Should a man find a copy of Shakespeare, and, in writing about it, make allusions only to Hamlet, could we argue that his copy contained Hamlet alone, or some part of Hamlet, or a drama "having a close resemblance" to Hamlet?

(ii) Josiah took measures to abolish the worship of the heavenly bodies, a form of idolatry distinct from the worship of Baal and Ashtoreth. His action is in obedience to the commands of Deuteronomic laws (Deut. iv. 19; xxvii. 3). There alone in the Pentateuch this particular form of idolatry is combated. For, although it had existed in an earlier time, it does not seem to have infected the religion of Israel until late in the monarchical period (cf. II. Kings xxi. 3, 5; xxiii. 4, 5, 12).

These considerations are not sufficient to prove that Deuteronomy was even a part of the book found; for the general prohibition of idolatry in the Decalogue was sufficient to justify Josiah in abolishing the worship of the heavenly bodies, if he had never seen Deuteronomy. And although it is true that there is no specific mention of this kind of worship as being actually existent in Israel till late in the monarchy, the fact here admitted by Professor Ryle that "it had existed in an earlier time," shows that it could have been specifically condemned in Deuteronomy if the latter was written by Moses. This argument therefore has no bearing whatever on the date of Deuteronomy.

(iii) Josiah celebrated the feast of the Passover (II. Kings xxiii. 21-23) in accordance with the "book of the law"—we find the law of the Passover laid down in Deut. xvi. 1-8.

True, he kept the Passover "as it is written in this book of the covenant;" and it is true that the law of the Passover is laid down in the passage cited from Deuteronomy in an incomplete form; but it is also laid down in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers; and so it appears again, that if Deuteronomy had not been even a part of the book found, Josiah would have done precisely what he did. If I were trying to prove that the book found contained the rest of the Pentateuch and not Deuteronomy, see how the arguments of the critics would suit my purpose. Strange that men with so much logical acumen never turn their own arguments around, and look at them on the other side.

It is true that Josiah kept the Passover; and it is also said in the text that "there was not kept such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah" (xxiii. 22). In what did its pre-eminence consist if not, in part at least, in the strictness of its compliance with the law? But if Josiah had been guided by Deuteronomy alone, he would have been ignorant of some of the most essential requirements of the law respecting this feast. The passage just cited (xvi. 1-8) is the only one in Deuteronomy giving any part of this law. It shows that the feast was to be observed in the month Abib, but it does not say on which day of the month, and a wrong day would have vitiated the service. It says that the victim should be of the flock or the herd; but it does not say that it must be a lamb of the first year without blemish. It does not say that the animal was to be roasted whole, that bitter herbs were to be eaten with it as well as unleavened bread, nor does it prescribe that no bone of the victim should be broken. It says nothing at all about the burnt-offerings which were to be offered every day of the Passover week. Not half of the legal provisions for this feast are mentioned in Deuteronomy, and yet with this

book alone we are to believe that Josiah kept such a Pass-over as had not been kept before since the days of the judges. Are we told, in reply, that those other provisions are later additions to the law, and that those mentioned in Deuteronomy are all that were at first observed? If so, he who thus replies is guilty of the oft-repeated fallacy in criticism of changing history to save an argument, and at the same time of assuming as the basis of argument that which is yet in dispute; for the proposition that Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers are of later date than Deuteronomy is one of the matters under discussion.

(iv) Josiah expelled wizards and diviners from the land in express fulfillment of "the book of the covenant" (II. Kings xxiii. 24); we find the prohibition of this common class of impostors in Oriental countries expressed in strong language in Deut. xviii. 9-14.

Here, again, the author makes an argument that is wholly inconsequential, for two reasons: First, if the book found was the whole Pentateuch, this passage of Deuteronomy would have been in it; and, second, if the Book of Deuteronomy had not been in the book at all, the prohibition of wizards and diviners would have been found in the part now called Leviticus, which prescribes that all such impostors must be stoned to death (Lev. xx. 27). What kind of proof is this that the book was Deuteronomy alone?

Professor Ryle was too thoughtful a writer not to see and feel the weakness of this mode of reasoning; consequently the following paragraph is added to bolster it up:

It is not, of course, for a moment denied that laws dealing with these two last subjects are to be found elsewhere in the Pentateuch. But as in all four cases Josiah's action was based upon "the law," whatever "the law" was, it must have dealt with "feasts" and with "wizards" as well as with "concentration of worship" and "star-worship." In the Deuteronomic laws all four points are touched upon.

The weakness is not made strong; for, if the book found was the whole Pentateuch, it contained Deuteronomy with its notice of these subjects, together with the other parts in which all these subjects, except "concentration of worship," are dealt with. The attempt to show that the Book was Deuteronomy alone is still a failure as glaring as before. More-

over, so fully are all these topics, with the exception named, dealt with in other parts of the Pentateuch, that but for the latter we should have no evidence from this point of view that Deuteronomy was in the book at all.

The next argument of our author is more elaborate, and it turns upon one of the titles given to Josiah's book:

(c) The book found in the temple is designated "the book of the covenant" (II. Kings xxiii. 2, 21), and it appears that it contained a covenant to the observance of which the king solemnly pledged himself (*ib.* 3). In the Pentateuch we find, it is true, a mention of "the book of the covenant" (Ex. xxiv. 7), by which the substance of the Sinaitic legislation (Ex. xx-xxiii.) seems to be denoted. But it is clear, from the fact that the section (Ex. xx-xxiii.) contains no denunciation; from the fact that it contains only the very briefest notice of the feast of the Passover, and then under another name, "the feast of the unleavened bread" (Ex. xxiii. 15); from the fact that it makes no mention of either wizards or star-worship—that this portion of the Israelite law can not be "the covenant" referred to in II. Kings xxiii. On the other hand, an important section at the close of our Book of Deuteronomy is occupied with a "covenant;" and it can hardly be doubted that "a book of the law" which was also "the book of the covenant," must have included such passages as Deut. xxix. 1, "These are the words of the covenant which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel;" verse 9, "Keep therefore the words of this covenant;" verse 14, "Neither with you only do I make this covenant and this oath;" verse 21, "According to all the curses of the covenant that is written in the book of the law;" verses 24, 25, "Even all the nations shall say, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land? . . . Then men shall say, Because they forsook the covenant of the Lord" (pp. 51, 52).

Unfortunately for this line of argument, some of the most eminent of Professor Ryle's fellow critics deny that chapter xxix., from which his last four quotations are made, was a part of the original document. (See Driver, *Commentary on Deuteronomy*, lxxiii.-lxxvii.; Addis, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, lxxv.) If they are correct, these citations amount to nothing, seeing that in that case these verses were never seen by Josiah, and they had therefore no influence on his conduct. But they are doubtless wrong. The whole Book of Deuteronomy, with the exception of the last chapter and a few interpolated passages not affecting the present discussion, was contained in the book found in the temple; and, if it was there as a part of the whole Pentateuch, it may have been

spoken of as "the book of the covenant." But if Deuteronomy may have had this title because of the frequent reference in it to the covenant between God and Israel, how much more might the Pentateuch as a whole have been called the Book of the Covenant, seeing that it contained all of Deuteronomy and in addition to this "the book of the covenant," expressly so called, which is found in Ex. xx-xxiii., and is constantly alluded to in all the Pentateuch. While, then, our author's argumentation, taking his own view of the contents of Josiah's book, would prove that Deuteronomy was part of the book, it stops there, and moves not a hair's-breadth toward showing, as the necessities of the theory require him to show, that it was Deuteronomy alone.

The next argument presented by Professor Ryle I will summarize, in order to save space. It is based on the fact that the author of Kings, in the only two passages in which he quotes expressly the law of Moses, quotes from Deuteronomy. The passages are II. Kings xiv. 6, where the quotation is undoubtedly from Deut. xxiv. 16; and I. Kings ii. 3, where David is addressing Solomon and says: "Keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his testimonies, according to that which is written in the law of Moses, that thou mayest prosper in all that thou doest, and whithersoever thou turnest thyself." It is claimed that this is a citation from Deut. xvii. 18-20; but if the reader will compare the two he will find that they contain very few words in common. Moreover, unless the author of Kings has falsified history in this passage, it is David, and not himself, who makes the reference; and if it is in reality a reference to Deuteronomy, it proves that Deuteronomy existed in the days of David. But in reality these words of David are an almost verbatim quotation from Josh. i. 8, where God admonished Joshua on his taking command of the army of Israel. David, in admonishing his son Solomon when about to be made king of Israel, quoted the words of the Almighty addressed to Joshua on a similar occasion. This does prove that the Book of Joshua was in ex-

istence before David's death, which is itself a deathblow to the analytical theory, but it has no bearing whatever on the identification of the book found by Hilkiah.

Professor Ryle also claims that "in numerous characteristic expressions and phrases the compiler of the Book of Kings shows a close acquaintance with the Deuteronomic portion of the Pentateuch," and he cites several passages in proof. Then he argues:

If, therefore, the compiler of the Books of Kings identified the "law of Moses" and the "book of the law" with Deuteronomy, or, at least, with a Deuteronomic version of the law, we may nearly take it for granted, that, in his narrative of the reign of Josiah, when he mentioned "the book of the law" without further description, he must have had in his mind the same Deuteronomic writings with which he was so familiar (p. 53).

Yes, "if." But, if the compiler of the Books of Kings had in his possession the whole of the Pentateuch, as we have repeatedly shown above, he would have written precisely as he does, and therefore nothing that he says can be logically held as proof that he had Deuteronomy alone.

At this point let it be carefully observed that, according to the analytical theory itself, the documents J and E were already in existence, the former containing legislation now found in Ex. xx-xxiii. If we suppose, with the analytical critics, that Deuteronomy alone was found by Hilkiah, and that it alone was known by the author of the Books of Kings as "the book of the law," what had become of these other two documents? Had they also been lost or hidden during Manasseh's apostasy? They must have been, or Deuteronomy could not have held the field alone as the law of God. But if they had thus disappeared, what was to hinder all the Pentateuch from having disappeared in like manner? Even, then, if the critics could make out their case, that Deuteronomy alone was Josiah's book, this would by no means preclude the supposition that the other books of the Pentateuch were in existence, but hidden in some other place. Thus we see that, from every point of view, the analytical theory is involved in confusion and inconsistencies.

After denying that the Book of Deuteronomy was of Mosaic origin, and claiming that it first became known to the public in the eighteenth year of Josiah, the next task for the critics is to show us when the book was written. On this point the radicals only are able to speak definitely. They tell us that the composition of the book was a pious fraud, perpetrated by Hilki'ah and others for the purpose of breaking down the worship in the high places, and enriching the temple priests by concentrating all in their hands. (See Sec. 4 [2].) Professor Ryle, and our English and American critics, are not willing to thus asperse the character of Hilki'ah, but in trying to avoid it they shroud the origin of the book in a cloud of uncertainty. I quote from Ryle, his answer to the radicals:

To these questions the scholars who suppose the composition of the book to have been the work of Hilki'ah himself and his friends, and who ascribe its discovery, not to chance, but to collusion, have no difficulty in making reply. Viewed from such a point of view, the book played a part in a clever intrigue conducted by the priests at Jerusalem who aimed at dealing a finishing stroke to the rival worship at the high places. But we have no reason to impugn either the accuracy or the sincerity of the historian, who describes an incident of which he was possibly a witness. An unprejudiced perusal of his narrative leaves the impression that he has no shadow of a suspicion of the discovery having been anything else but a fortunate accident, and that, in the opinion of those living at the time, the book was supposed to have existed long ago and to have been lost (*Canon of Old Testament*, p. 54).

This is a very unsatisfactory answer to the radicals. It is only to say that the historian, that is, the author of the Book of Kings, and "those living at the time," were so successfully deceived that they had "no shadow of a suspicion" about the discovery, and that they really supposed the book to have existed long ago. If they thus supposed, and if, as Professor Ryle believes and tries to prove, the supposition was false, it follows that whatever the motive of Hilki'ah and others, the people were deceived by somebody, and most successfully deceived. In the argument thus far the radicals clearly have the advantage.

But Professor Ryle gives some reasons for not believing that the book was an ancient one when discovered:

Assuming, then, that this "Deuteronomic 'book of the law'" was honestly regarded as an ancient book in the eighteenth year of Josiah, we must take into consideration the following facts: (1) That never before, on the occasion of a religion reform, do we find, in the Books of Samuel and Kings, any appeal to the authority of a book; (2) that, even in Hezekiah's reign, the attempt to suppress the high places was not, so far as history tells us, supported by any such appeal; (3) that the earlier prophets, Amos, Hosea, Micah and Isaiah (I), give no certain sign of having been influenced by the Deuteronomic laws (p. 55).

The first two of these reasons are evasive; for in the very brief account of Hezekiah's reformation, in which he put down the high places as Josiah did, it is said of Hezekiah, "He clave to Jehovah, he departed not from following him, but kept his commandments which Jehovah commanded Moses" (II. Kings xviii. 6). Here the king is said to have clung to Jehovah in effecting this reform; he kept Jehovah's commandments which he commanded Moses; but because the word "book" is not employed, Professor Ryle would have us conclude that the commandments which were kept, and which God had commanded Moses, were not in a book. It is a common argument with believers that if you find in the second century, or in any year of the first century, quotations of passages now found in Paul's Epistle to the Romans, they prove that the epistle existed that early. But no, say the unbelievers, not unless the name of the epistle is given. Thus the infidel argument against the New Testament is taken up by "evangelical critics," when they come to the Old Testament. The man of common sense, whether a believer or an unbeliever, will, so long as he reads of men "keeping the commandments of God which he gave Moses," conclude that they had the book in which these commandments were written. As to the earlier prophets, they give abundance of evidence that they knew the ethical teachings which abound in the Book of Deuteronomy; how dares Professor Ryle to assume that they were not led to do so by knowing the contents of the book? Nothing short of positive knowledge that the book had not been written in their day, would justify such an assumption; and yet the assumption is used as an argument to prove the

fact on which it depends. This is too glaring a fault in logic to be excusable in such an author.

A consciousness of weakness is betrayed at this point by the professor's next sentence, in which he says:

Of course, as has already been pointed out, ancient laws are copiously incorporated in Deuteronomy, and the mere mention of institutions and customs which are spoken of in Deuteronomy, does not prove the existence of the book itself.

This is true; but it is not in point; for he is trying to prove that because the word "book" is not used in connection with them, the book did *not exist*. This is an argument from silence; and lest his readers should disregard it on that account, our author next attempts to bolster up this species of argument:

The force of the argument from silence, however, will at once be appreciated when the pronounced influence of the Deuteronomic writings upon the style of authors to whom the Book of Deuteronomy was well known—*e. g.*, Books of Kings, Jeremiah and Zephaniah—is fully taken account of. There is nothing parallel to it in the earlier Hebrew literature. The inference is obvious; the Book of Deuteronomy, in the earlier period, was either not yet composed or not yet known. But, if written, could it have failed to escape the notice of Amos, Hosea and Isaiah, and to leave on them something of the mark it made on later literature? (p. 55).

This argument assumes that there was nothing, except its recent origin, to give Deuteronomy the special influence which it exerted over later writers. Without, then, pausing to show, as we can, that the statement of this influence is magnified, it is a sufficient answer to show that this influence can be otherwise accounted for. The fact that the rediscovery of the book after it had been lost to sight so long, and the fact that its teaching, whether it was alone or in company with the other books of the Pentateuch, was the chief instrument in bringing about the most famous religious reformation in the history of Israel, necessarily brought it into a relative influence which it had not exerted before. There is a parallel in the influence exerted by the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians during the life of Luther and afterward. Were there any ground for raising a doubt whether Luther and his generation possessed all of the books of the New Testament,

or whether these two epistles had not been recently written by some theologian in the name of Paul, how readily could critics of the modern school take up the cry, and demand, Why, if those two epistles existed before Luther's day, did they not influence the style and theology of earlier writers, as they certainly did those of a later date? The answer would be, There was a special reason in the Lutheran Reformation in which salvation by works was denied, and salvation by faith insisted on, to give new prominence to the two epistles in which the latter doctrine is especially emphasized. Just so, the Josian reformation was brought about chiefly by the teaching and the warnings of Deuteronomy, and this necessarily drew to this book, rather than to any other then written, the attention of writers in the next generation. So, then, this famous argument, which is a favorite with all classes of destructive critics, proves to be faulty in the fact that it ignores completely the real cause of the fact on which it is based.

In order to fix the time previous to which the Book of Deuteronomy could not have been written, Professor Ryle introduces a passage from Isaiah which has been made to figure conspicuously in the discussion of this question. He argues thus:

One well-known passage (Isa. xix. 19) should be sufficient to disprove the possibility of that prophet's acquaintance with the Deuteronomic law: "In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar [*mazzebah*] at the border thereof to the Lord." Isaiah could hardly have said this if he had been acquainted with the prohibition of Deut. xvi. 22, "Thou shalt not set up a pillar [*mazzebah*]; which the Lord thy God hateth." Nor is the reply satisfactory which says that Isaiah refers to the soil, not of Palestine, but of Egypt; for the prophet is contemplating a time when all the world should be subject to the "law" of Israel's God. It would appear, therefore, that the Deuteronomic "book of the law" was not known to Isaiah or his prophetic predecessors, and could hardly have been written before the reign of Hezekiah. When, in addition to this, the marked characteristics of his style correspond to those which are found in the Hebrew writing of the sixth and latter part of the seventh century B. C., it is the most natural conclusion that the literary framework of the book is not to be placed earlier than the close of Isaiah's ministry (*circ.* 690 B. C.).

In this argument the author starts out as if there was no possibility of his being mistaken. The passage in Isaiah "should be sufficient to disprove the possibility" of his acquaintance with Deuteronomy. But in his next sentence he lowers his tone and says, "Isaiah could hardly have said this if he had been acquainted with the prohibition of Deut. xvi. 22." And his conclusion is based on the latter assertion, and not on the former. Leaving off the question of possibility, he says, "Deuteronomy could hardly have been written before the reign of Hezekiah." Such a play of *diminuendo* as the argument advances is clear evidence that the man who framed it began with a confidence which he could not maintain to the end.

But let us see whether, if Isaiah had known intimately the prohibition of the *mazzebah* in Deuteronomy, he could still have predicted the erection of one at the border of Egypt. The obvious answer is, If it were revealed to him that there would be one, of course he could have predicted it. But it is assumed that he predicted it with approval, which he could not have done had he known Deuteronomy. The prophet certainly does speak of the event as indicating a change in Egypt for the better. Taking into view the immediate context, he says: "In that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan, and swear to Jehovah of hosts; one shall be called, The city of destruction. In that day there shall be an altar in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to Jehovah. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto Jehovah of hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto Jehovah because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a defender, and he shall deliver them." This clearly indicates a time when Egypt should be sore oppressed, and should turn to Jehovah for help, offering sacrifice to him, and setting up a pillar on the border of the land to honor him. Egypt was a land of pillars, or obelisks, as the word is rendered on the margin of the Revised Version, all erected in honor of their gods, and inscribed on their sides with the

praises of the god whom each sought to honor. Now, if, in a time of distress, seeing the impotency of all her gods, Egypt should erect an obelisk in honor of Jehovah, the act would be a happy move in the right direction, no matter how abominable such a pillar might be beside a Jewish altar. She was also to erect an altar to Jehovah. Suppose that on this altar they offered the sacrifices to which they were accustomed, but which would have defiled a Jewish altar, and the text indicates nothing to the contrary; still Egypt would be congratulated for doing even this with the purpose of honoring Jehovah. Isaiah, then, could have written all that he did with a full knowledge of what is said about the *mazzebah* in Deuteronomy.

Let us now give more particular attention to the prohibition in Deuteronomy, and see whether, in the argument under consideration, it is properly interpreted. The subject of the *mazzebah* is mentioned twice in this part of the book; first in xii. 2, 3, where it is said, "Ye shall surely destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree: and ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars [*mazzebahs*], and burn their Asherim with fire." Now, this portion of Deuteronomy has the form of a discourse; and whether it was delivered by Moses as the text affirms, or written in the time of Hezekiah and put into the lips of Moses by imagination, the speaker, real or imaginary, after uttering the words just quoted, uttered, in less than ten minutes later, these words: "Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah of any kind of tree beside the altar of Jehovah thy God, which thou shalt make thee. Neither shalt thou set up a pillar [*mazzebah*]; which Jehovah thy God hateth" (xvi. 21, 22). Can we imagine that there was no connection of thought between the two prohibitions? Is it not morally certain that the Asherah and the pillar in both passages mean the same? And, if so, are we not compelled by the laws of interpretation, to understand that, in the latter passage as in the former, the prohibition is against such *mazzebahs* as the Canaanites had

used, and not against such structures when used legitimately? The answer which this question demands is implied in the very wording of the text; for the words, "a pillar which the Lord thy God hateth," leave room for the supposition that there were pillars which God did not hate.

That there were pillars (*mazzebahs*) which Jehovah did not hate, Isaiah knew, and the author of Deuteronomy knew. For be it remembered, that even if the Book of Deuteronomy was unknown to Isaiah, the documents J and E, and the combined document JE, were known both to him and the supposed author of Deuteronomy. This the analytical theory teaches. But in JE we find several statements about the erection of pillars (*mazzebahs*) by Jacob at Bethel, at Mizpah, and at Rachel's grave (Gen. xxxiii. 18, 22; xxxi. 45, 51, 52; xxxv. 14, 20). Moreover, JE represents God as approving the erection of this first *mazzebah* in saying to Jacob, "I am the God of Bethel, where thou anointedst a pillar, where thou vowedst a vow unto me: now arise, get thee out of this land, and return to the land of thy nativity" (xxx. 13). In view of this fact, Isaiah must have known that there were *mazzebahs* which God approved; and the supposed author of Deuteronomy knew it as well. Is it credible, then, that the latter put into the mouth of Moses, speaking for God, a prohibition of all *mazzebahs*? If not, then we must believe that the prohibition in question was against such *mazzebahs* as the Canaanites had in use.

Finally, there is a consideration suggested by the Deuteronomic prohibition which has been entirely overlooked by destructive critics, and yet it completely refutes their theory as to the date of the book. Here is a book which forbids absolutely the erection of an altar to Jehovah other than the one at his chosen place of worship; a book written with this as one of its primary purposes, if not the chief purpose; yet in the midst of it we read these words: "Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah of any kind of tree beside the altar of Jehovah thy God which thou shalt make thee." Notice the future tense: "The altar of Jehovah thy God which thou shalt make thee." The altar in question was yet to be made when the book was written.

If Moses wrote the book, this is what he would have said: for the altar spoken of was that in Jerusalem, or both that and the earlier altar at Shiloh. The Jerusalem altar was, too, according to hypothesis, the one at which the author of Deuteronomy sought to concentrate the worship as the only altar of Jehovah. This altar had been made hundreds of years before this hypothetical date of Deuteronomy, yet the writer speaks of it as "the altar of Jehovah thy God which thou shalt make thee." What clearer demonstration could we have that the book was written before the altar in Jerusalem was made; that is, before the reign of Solomon? And if it was before the reign of Solomon, there can be no reason for giving it a date later than Moses. This argument can be set aside only by charging the author with fraud in putting these words in the mouth of Moses.

I have dealt thus elaborately with this argument, from the consideration that it is made use of by all the destructive critics without an apparent suspicion that any fallacy could be found in it. The result illustrates the importance of the closest scrutiny of every argument and every passage of Scripture before concluding that it contains anything inimical to the Bible's own account of itself.

If it is true, as asserted by Professor Ryle, that the Book of Deuteronomy, when discovered by Hilkiah the priest, "was the first instance of a book which was regarded by all, king, priests, prophets, and people alike, as invested not only with sanctity, but also with supreme authority in all matters of religion and conduct," it becomes a matter of supreme importance to account in some satisfactory way for such a reception of the book. But even his strong statement of the case falls short of the reality. The book was not only regarded as invested with sanctity and supreme authority, but it was regarded as having come from Moses; and it was this last consideration which gave it its sanctity and authority. This must all be accounted for in order to make the critical theory of its origin credible. The necessity of this can not have escaped the minds of the acute scholars who have advocated this theory, and one would expect to find in their writings some plausible if not convincing attempt

at an answer. But on this point I have searched their writings in vain. Professor Ryle shows clearly that he felt the need of such an explanation, and through several pages of his *Canon* he feels around the question without fairly facing it. As you read through these pages in search of it, you are inclined to exclaim alternately, "Now I see it, now I don't see it." The nearest he comes to it is on page 60, where he formally raises the question only to immediately run away from it. Having fixed the date of its composition in the closing years of Hezekiah's reign, he says:

Nor is it difficult to understand how such a work, during the reactionary reign of Manasseh, became lost to view. That its accidental discovery in the eighteenth year of King Josiah produced so astonishing an effect can well be imagined.

Of course it can. We can easily imagine almost anything. But we have no need to imagine it; it is plainly told in the text, and nobody calls the record in question. What we desire is not to imagine it, but to account for it. And how does our learned author do this? Here is what follows:

The evils which the prophet or writers had sought to combat, had grown in intensity during the seventy or eighty years which had elapsed. The reform, so necessary before, culminating in the abolition of the high places, which Hezekiah had failed to carry out successfully, had now been long delayed; the difficulty of effecting it must have become proportionately greater; the flagrant indulgence in open idolatry, under the patronage of the court, had raised yet more serious obstacles in the path of religious restoration. In a single year "the book of the law" caused the removal of every obstacle. The laws it contained must, many of them, have been familiar, by tradition, long usage, and written codes. But in this book, laws, old and new alike, lived in the spirit of Moses, and glowed with the spirit of prophecy. The tone in which the law was here expounded to the people was something new. It marked the close of one era; it heralded the beginning of another. It rang sharp and clear in the lull that so graciously intervened before the tempest of Babylonian invasion. The enthusiasm it aroused in the young king communicated itself to the people. The discovery of "the book of the law" procured at once the abolition of the high places. The book was recognized as a divine gift, and lifted, though but for a passing moment, the conception of the nation's religion above the routine of the priesthood's traditional worship.

I search in vain, through all this, for even a semblance of an answer to the question, How can the reception accorded the

book be accounted for? If Hezekiah's attempt to abolish the high places had failed, this would make it only the more difficult for this book to cause their removal; and this the author freely admits. He also admits, or, rather, he tells us in plain words, that the indulgence in open idolatry under the patronage of the court had raised "yet more serious obstacles" in the path of religious restoration. This only makes more imperative the demand for the explanation which is called for, but not given.

Next we are told what we knew before, that "in a single year 'the book of the law' caused the removal of every obstacle;" and this only intensifies our desire to know how it succeeded in doing so. Next we are told that "the laws it contained must, many of them, have been familiar, by tradition, long usage, and written codes." But, if they were, why was the king so astonished at them, and why did he rend his clothes? "But," continues our author, "in this book, laws, old and new alike, lived in the spirit of Moses, and glowed with the vehemence of prophecy." Yes; they not only lived in the spirit of Moses, but they professedly came from the very lips of Moses; and the question is, How were king and priests and prophets and people alike led to believe that they came from Moses, when many of them, and especially the most objectionable of them all, had never been heard of before? This is the question to be answered, and the author's attempt only heaps up, statement by statement, the obstacles in the way of a satisfactory answer.

Again he says, "The tone in which the law was here expounded to the people was something new." But it claimed to be as old as Moses; how, then, could it be something new? And if it was something new, why did neither king, nor priest, nor prophet, nor one of the people, see in the fact that it was new, incontestable proof that it was not spoken by Moses? But, "it marked the close of one era; it heralded the beginning of another." Suppose it did; how could all parties know this, and why should this have made them think that the book came from Moses? But, "it rang sharp and clear in the lull that so graciously intervened before the tempest of Babylonian invasion;" and "the enthusiasm it aroused in the young king communicated

itself to the people." Yes; but why did it arouse any enthusiasm in the young king? And what if it did ring in that lull? If the king had suspected that the book was recently written, would it have aroused in him this enthusiasm? Would it have made him rend his clothes? Finally we are told that "the book was recognized as a divine gift, and lifted, though but for a passing moment, the conception of the nation's religion above the priesthood's traditional worship." Of course, the book was received as a divine gift; but the question is, Why? And this question is not answered. Robertson Smith attempts an answer in these words:

The authority that lay behind Deuteronomy was the power of the prophetic teaching which half a century of persecution had not been able to suppress (*O. T.*, 363).

But the "prophetic teaching," according to hypothesis, and according to Robertson Smith himself, had been absolutely silent about the restriction of sacrifice to a single altar, and hostile to sacrifices in general. This is, then, no answer to the question. On the critical hypothesis as to the origin of the book, may we not here venture the assertion that it can not be answered? In view of the utter failure of the ablest critics thus far to find an adequate answer, may we not safely conclude that one will never be found?

There is another obstacle in the way of the answer demanded which is insuperable, and which has been created by the critics themselves. They tell us that ~~the~~ documents J and E had been written some hundred years or more before the discovery by Hilkiiah, and they tell us that the laws of the "book of the covenant" embodied in Ex. xx.-xxiii. were preserved in J, and had come down from Moses. They tell us that in that book the law guaranteed to every Hebrew the right to build an altar and offer his sacrifice at any spot which he might choose—that this had been God's recognized and well-known law down to the very day in which Hilkiiah's discovery was made. But here a newly written book of the law is produced, which contradicts all this, and teaches that it is a sin to offer sacrifices on any other altar than the one in Jerusalem. And when this newly written law,

contradicting what all the people had hitherto received as the law of God, was read to the king, he rent his clothes; and when he read it to the people, they entered into a covenant with him to tear down all of the altars at which they had hitherto worshipped according to God's undisputed law. How can this be accounted for? They obey the new law because they are led to believe that it came from Moses, and they reject the old law though they believed that it also came from Moses. Did they think that Moses contradicted himself? If so, why, of the two contradictory laws, did they accept the one newly brought to light, the one never heard of before, and the one most obnoxious to their cherished habits? Who will answer these questions, or who will show, if they remain unanswered, that the new theory of the origin of Deuteronomy is worth the paper it is printed on? I knew a preacher who became insane and imagined that he was made of glass. He would not allow you to shake hands with him—only a gentle touch. And when he took a seat in a wooden chair he was very careful lest he should break himself to pieces. This critical theory of Deuteronomy reminds me of him. Wherever you shake it, it breaks.¹

§2. EVIDENCE FROM CONFLICT WITH PREVIOUS LEGISLATION.

It is held by those who advocate the late date of Deuteronomy, that the previously existing law contained in the book JE, which was really given by Moses, if Moses gave any law at all, permitted the people to erect altars wherever they chose, and that the law in Deuteronomy was intended to abolish that privilege. Sacrifice in the high places had been perfectly legitimate under this law, but it was now to be abolished by force of this newly discovered "book of the law." By Robertson Smith the position is stated in the following words:

¹ For the arguments of other authors on the evidence discussed in this section, see Driver, *Int.*, 86-89; Robertson Smith, *O. T.*, 256f., 363; Addis, *D. of H.*, lxxv.; Andrew Harper, *Com. Deut.*, 29-33; Principal Douglas, *Lex M.*, 63-67; Stanley Leathes, *Lex M.*, 443ff.; Robert Sinker, *Lex M.*, 462ff., 480; James Robertson, *Early Rel. of Israel*, 421; Bissell, *O. and S. of Pent.*, 23.

The central difference between the Deuteronomic code, on which Josiah acted, and the code of the First Legislation, lies in the principle that the temple at Jerusalem is the only legitimate sanctuary. The legislator in Deuteronomy expressly puts forth this ordinance as an innovation: "Ye shall not do, as we do here this day, every man whatever is right in his own eyes"—Deut. xii. 8 (*O. T.*, p. 253).

A little reflection will show that this position, though put forward as if it were unquestionable, can not be maintained. In the first place, if such were the facts in the case, the friends and supporters of the high places, who are admitted to have been exceedingly reluctant to give them up, could and would have successfully answered: We are not doing whatsoever is right in our own eyes; but that which Jehovah our God gave us permission to do by the hand of Moses. This new law, therefore, pretending to come from the same Moses, a law which no Israelite has ever heard of before, is false and spurious. We will have none of it. They could have said, We have the old Mosaic law written in our sacred books; it is a part of the book of the covenant given by God to our fathers; and it is also written with indelible letters in our ancestral customs; and we shall not be deceived into the belief that this hitherto unknown book, with its innovation, has also been our law from the beginning. What answer could Josiah, or any of his officers sent out to tear down the altars on the high places, have made to this? They would have been as dumb as the stones of the altars which they destroyed.

In the second place, the supposed writer of Deuteronomy could not, without barefaced folly, have put the words of this restrictive law into the mouth of Moses. He would have had Moses legislating against a *further continuance* of worship which as yet had no existence in Israel; for it certainly had no existence among them while Moses was still alive. When, then, Hilkiyah's book was presented to the first man of sense on his high place, he would have responded: "Do you think I am a fool, to give up my chosen place of worshiping the God of our fathers in compliance with a book pretending that Moses forbade our fathers to continue in the practice, when, as a matter of fact, our fathers had never engaged in it?" The pretense

would strike them very much as if some unscrupulous politician should now publish a copy of Washington's farewell address with a warning in it against the adoption of the Australian secret ballot in our elections. Such are the absurdities, unperceived by themselves, in which critics become involved when they permit their zeal in support of a theory to run away with their better reason.

If it should be asked, in response to the preceding, what practice was it that Moses had reference to when he said, "Ye shall not do as we do here this day," the answer is, first, he certainly did not mean what the men of Josiah's day, seven hundred years later, would be doing, but something that men were doing in his own day. Second, when Moses spoke, the people addressed had only a few weeks before been guilty of wandering off with the women of Moab and engaging with them in the worship of Baal-peor (Num. xxv.); and this piece of self-will in worship, which had cost the lives of twenty-four thousand men, was fresh in their memories. Thus we see that if the law was given by Moses, all that is said about it agrees with the facts in the case; and if it was not, everything is thrown into confusion and absurdity.

Professor Driver's statement of the position is not stronger than that of Professor Smith. Here it is:

The law of Deuteronomy thus marks an epoch in the history of Israelitish religion; it springs from an age when the old law (Ex. xx. 24), sanctioning an indefinite number of local sanctuaries, had been proved to be incompatible with purity of worship; it marks the final, the most systematic effort made by the prophets to free the public worship of Jehovah from heathen accretions (*Com. Deut.*, 138).

This is a more cautious statement than that of Robertson Smith, but it is not less objectionable. It represents a law given by divine wisdom—for Driver recognizes the divine origin of the old book of the covenant—as proving to be "incompatible with purity of worship." This is an absurdity. It also represents the king and the people as promptly abandoning a form of worship that was lawful, the law for which had been given by God through Moses, and to which the masses of the people

had become devotedly attached, on the demand of a new law, pretending to come from Moses, but which had really never been heard of before. No people in the history of the world was ever thus deluded. The incredibility of such a deception is increased when we add that never afterward was any question raised in Israel as to the Mosaic origin of this new law. If the hypothesis is accepted, it reverses the notable saying of President Lincoln, that "you can fool some of the people all the time, and all of the people part of the time, but you can not fool all the people all the time."

Both of these scholars, in common with all the critics of their class, assume, as if it were an undisputed fact, that the first legislation permitted a multiplicity of altars to be erected, and sacrifice to be offered on them wherever it suited the good pleasure of the worshipers; and for this reason they claim that worship on the high places, "on every high hill and under every green tree," was legitimate until the publication of the law in Deuteronomy, which limited all sacrifices to the single altar in Jerusalem. The question whether this assumption is true or not can be settled only by an appeal to the terms of the law itself. We quote it in full:

And Jehovah said unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, Ye yourselves have seen that I have talked with you from heaven. Ye shall not make other gods with me; gods of silver, or gods of gold, ye shall not make unto you. An altar shalt thou make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, thy peace offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen: in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee. And if thou make an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon" (Ex. xx. 22-26).

This, if we may believe the record in Exodus, is the law of sacrifice delivered at the foot of Mt. Sinai (cf. 18-21). Does it authorize a multitude of altars at as many different places? or one altar at a time? The word "altar" is in the singular number, and the people are addressed as one individual: "An altar of earth shalt thou make unto me." Evidently the one people were to make the one altar; and it is impossible that the multiplicity of simultaneous altars in use at the alleged date of

Deuteronomy would have been justified by this law. But the altar was to be made of earth or of stone, and consequently it could not be moved. If, then, after the first one was built under this law, another should be needed at another place, it would have to be erected as was the first. This brings us to the question of place, and to the second provision of the law: "In every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and bless thee." Though not expressed, it is here implied that in these places the aforesaid altar would be erected. But Israel as a people could be in only one place at a time, and consequently the places contemplated are consecutive and not simultaneous places of worship. With this the subsequent history of Israel perfectly agrees. The altar of wooden boards covered with brass which Moses constructed before leaving Mt. Sinai (Ex. xxvii. 1-8), instead of being in conflict with this law, as has been alleged, was strictly in conformity with it. An altar of earth, if used more than once, would be constantly crumbling, and one of unhewn stones would be constantly falling. Neither would be at all suitable for continued use. Consequently, as Mr. Ferguson has conclusively shown in *Smith's Bible Dictionary*, the structure made by Moses, which was nothing but a hollow box without top or bottom, was only a case within which the real altar was made, and which held it, whether made of earth or of rough stones, in proper shape, while it gave the structure a smooth exterior. By itself it was not an altar at all; for it provided no place on which the fire could be built and the victims burned. If the fire had been built inside of it, as has been supposed, it would have charred the wood through the thin plates of brass, and ruined the structure. But when the case was placed on a level piece of ground, and filled with earth, or with stones, the law was complied with, and the altar was held in proper shape for any length of time. When the place of encampment was changed, the priests, by means of the strong wooden bars passed through rings on the outside of the case, lifted the latter away from the enclosed earth or stones, and left the altar to crumble. This one altar at a time, frequently

renewed, yet always the same in exterior appearance and form, was the altar of Israel, according to the history, throughout the desert wanderings, throughout the period of Joshua and the judges, and on to the erection of Solomon's temple. It is only by impeaching the sacred records that this can be denied. And if this is the truth respecting the first legislation about the altar and the place of worship, the only difference between this law and that in Deuteronomy is that in the latter the exclusiveness of the law is made more emphatic.

Another evidence of the perfect unity of these two laws is found in the words used in common respecting the place of worship. In Exodus the words are, "In every place where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." In Deuteronomy, "But unto the place which Jehovah your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come." The latter contains no verbal quotation from the former, but it is evidently intended to explain it. Where the former has, "In every place where I record my name," the latter has, "Unto the place which Jehovah your God shall choose"—choosing a place for his worship, explains the expression, "record my name." The only difference is that in the older law it is implied that he might record his name in more than one place, whereas in the latter he is to choose one place. And this agrees with the history; for when they came into Canaan God first recorded his name at Shiloh, where the tabernacle with the ark of the covenant in it was located by Joshua, and remained till after the capture of the ark by the Philistines (Josh. xviii. 1; I. Sam. iv. 11—v. 1). Afterwards Jerusalem was chosen, and this is the one sanctuary to which, according to all classes of critics, the words of Deuteronomy have reference.

Prof. William Henry Green has spoken so well on the alleged discrepancy between these two laws, that I here quote him in full:

There is no such difference as is pretended between the book of the covenant and the other Mosaic codes in respect to the place of legitimate sacrifice. It is not true that the former sanctioned a mul-

tiplicity of altars, and that this was the recognized practice of pious worshippers of Jehovah until the reign of Josiah, and that he instituted a new departure from all previous law and custom by restricting sacrifice to one central altar in compliance with a book of the law then for the first time promulgated. The unity of the altar was the law of Israel's life from the beginning. Even in the days of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, no such thing was known as separate rival sanctuaries for the worship of Jehovah, co-existing in various parts of the land. They built altars and offered sacrifice in whatever part of the land they might be, and particularly in places where Jehovah appeared to them. But the patriarchal family was a unit, and while they worshiped in different places, successively in the course of their migrations, they nevertheless worshiped in but one place at a time. They did not offer sacrifice contemporaneously on different altars. So with Israel in their marches through the wilderness. They set up their altar wherever they encamped, at various places successively, but not in more than one place at the same time. This is the state of things which is recognized and made legitimate in the book of the covenant. In Ex. xx. 24 the Israelites are authorized to erect an altar, not wherever they may please, but "in all places where God records his name." The critics interpret this as a direct sanction given to various sanctuaries in different parts of Palestine. There is no foundation whatever for such an interpretation. There is not a word here nor anywhere in Scripture from which the legitimacy of the multitudinous sanctuaries of a later time can be inferred. An altar is lawful, and sacrifice upon it acceptable, and God will there meet with his people and bless them, only where he records his name; not where men may utter his name, whether by invocation or proclamation, but where God reveals or manifests himself (*H. C. of P.*, 147, 148).

§3. EVIDENCE FROM DISREGARD OF A CENTRAL SANCTUARY.

It is argued that if the restrictive law in Deuteronomy had been known from the time of Moses onward, or if the law in Exodus had been understood as restricting sacrifice to one altar at a time, we should be able to find traces of this restriction between the time of Moses and the time of Josiah. But it is alleged that, on the contrary, even the best of men in that interval built altars and offered sacrifices without regard to such a law, and in direct opposition to it; and that they did this without apology or rebuke. Professor Driver, in the condensed style which is habitual with him, states the argument in the following words:

In these books (Joshua—I. Kings) sacrifices are frequently described as offered in different parts of the land, without any indication (and this is the important fact) on the part of either the actor or the narrator that such a law as that of Deuteronomy is being

infringed. After the exclusion of all uncertain or exceptional cases, such as Judg. ii. 5; vi. 20-24, where the theophany may be held to justify the erection of an altar, there remain, as instances of either altars or local sanctuaries, Josh. xxiv. 26; I. Sam. vii. 9, 17; ix. 12-14; x. 3, 5, 8; xiii. 9; xi. 15; xiv. 35; xx. 6; II. Sam. xv. 12, 32.

The author properly recognizes in these instances two distinct groups, distinguished by the fact that the former were accompanied by theophanies, or visible appearances of divine messengers, under whose command or with whose approval the altars were erected. The instances referred to under this head are those of the people assembled at Bochim, and of Gideon at Ophrah. He might have added that of Manoah at Zorah (Judg. xiii. 15-20). Of these he speaks cautiously. He styles them "uncertain or exceptional cases." What he means by "uncertain" I do not know, unless he is uncertain whether they actually occurred; but they were undoubtedly exceptional. His admission that if they did occur as described "the theophany may be held to have justified the erection of an altar," renders it unnecessary for me to discuss them so far as Professor Driver is concerned, but not so far as respects the great majority of his fellow critics; for they deny the reality of theophanies, and hold that these altars were erected, if at all, on the responsibility of the men themselves. For this reason we shall consider the bearing which these cases have on the main question as if no concession had been made.

As respects the sacrifice at Bochim, the facts revealed in the context (Judg. ii. 1-5) are these: The people of Israel were assembled at a place which, at the time of their assembling, bore no distinctive name. For what purpose they had assembled we are not informed. It may have been for some political purpose, or it may have been for public worship. The angel of Jehovah came from Gilgal to this place, and rebuked the people for having made peace with the Canaanites contrary to the command of Jehovah. The people wept under the rebuke, and offered sacrifices unto Jehovah. Because of the weeping, they gave the name Bochim (weepers) to the place. There is not a word said about erecting an altar, although no sacrifice could be offered without one. The natural inference is that the taber-

nacle, with its altar, was close by the place of assembly. A case of erecting an altar distinct from the one at Shiloh is therefore not made out. Critics who claim to be scientific should remember that to draw conclusions from facts which are assumed, and can not be proved, is anything else than scientific.

As respects Gideon's altar and sacrifice, the case is made out, and made out very plainly. When the angel of Jehovah had appeared to him, given him his commission to deliver Israel from the Midianites, had set fire to the stewed kid and bread by touching them with the point of his staff, and had disappeared, Gideon built an altar on the spot, and called it Jehovah-shalom; but he built it as a monument, and not for the purpose of offering sacrifice on it. He offered none. Within the same night, however, Jehovah commanded him, perhaps by the mouth of the same angel, to take his father's seven-year-old bullock to the top of the hill where was an altar of Baal, to tear down the latter and build in its place an altar to Jehovah, and offer on it the bullock. All this Gideon did, and he did it, as the morning light revealed, at the imminent peril of his life. Does this prove that the Book of Deuteronomy, with its law against the erection of other altars than the one at the central sanctuary, was unknown to Gideon? Suppose that he had known a book which had this law written on every page, would he have disobeyed Jehovah himself when he gave him this special command? I presume that when Abraham was commanded to sacrifice his son Isaac, he knew very well that it was contrary to God's will that a man should kill his own son; yet I presume that later Bible writers and speakers, including Jesus and the apostles, have been right in admiring Abraham's obedience to the divine command. If Gideon had sense enough to know which was his father's seven-year-old bullock, he had sense enough to know that he who makes a law has the right to make exceptions to it. I wonder if our scientific critics do not know this.

In the case of Manoah, no altar was erected, though the natural rock on which his offering was laid is called an altar. He proposed to prepare a kid for the angel of Jehovah to eat; but

the latter said: "Though thou detain me, I will not eat of thy bread; and if thou wilt make ready a burnt-offering, thou must offer it unto Jehovah." This gave to Manoah express permission to offer a burnt offering; and consequently, when the kid and meal were brought, he offered both upon the rock to Jehovah. He set fire to his offering, and when the flame went up, the angel went up in it. By this Manoah knew that his visitor was the angel of Jehovah, and his offering had the angel's approval.

On presenting the facts with reference to these three offerings in a lecture, I was once asked how God could thus make exceptions to his law, consistently with Paul's warning to the Galatians, "Though we, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you any gospel other than that we preached, let him be anathema." I answered that making exceptions in laws which were made to be abolished is quite a different thing from perverting the everlasting gospel. This answer is sufficient.²

Let us now examine the second group of passages cited by Professor Driver in proof of his allegation. The first is Josh. xxiv. 1, 26. Here in verse 1 we learn that Joshua gathered the tribes together at Shechem, and called for the chief men, and, it is said, "they presented themselves before God." This last clause, taken in connection with the statement in verse 26 that Joshua took a great stone and set it up there, under the oak that was "by the sanctuary of Jehovah," is claimed as proof that there was a sanctuary at Shechem, at which the chief men presented themselves before God. It certainly proves this. But the thing to be proved is that an altar was erected there and sacrifices offered on it. Of this there is not a word in the text or the context. A sanctuary is any holy place; and, as Abraham had once sojourned here; as Jacob had once bought a piece of land here, on which he resided until the slaughter of the Shechemites by his sons; as Joseph's mummy was buried here, and as here Joshua himself had erected a monumental altar, on which were inscribed the Ten Commandments—it is not surprising

² For other grounds of justification in this case, see J. J. Lias, *Lex M.*, 263f., 266; Principal Douglas, *Lex M.*, 266; Bissell, *O. and S. of Pent.*, 356ff.

that some particular spot here, overshadowed by a magnificent oak, was known as a sanctuary. If Peter, even under the Christian dispensation, styled the Mount of Transfiguration "the holy mount," why may not a place at which so many solemn events had transpired have been called a sanctuary or holy place, though no sacrifice was offered there? It is clear, then, that Driver's first citation has no bearing whatever upon his proposition. Strange that so good a marksman made so wild a shot!

But three of the others are equally wild. One (I. Sam. xiii. 9-14) is the sacrifice offered by King Saul at Gilgal, which was condemned so severely by Samuel, that, in the name of Jehovah, he said, "Now, thy kingdom shall not continue." Another (I. Sam. xiv. 35) is the erection by Saul of an altar on the spot where the pursuit of the Philistines ended at the close of the day of his rash vow. But here he offered no sacrifice, and the altar was evidently intended as a monument. It is called in the text the first altar that Saul built; and this shows that the altar on which he had made offerings at Gilgal was not built by him, but was one that pre-existed. The third wild shot is the reference (II. Sam. xv. 12, 32) to the sacrifices offered by Absalom at Hebron, when inaugurating the rebellion against his father; and to the statement in connection with David's flight from Jerusalem, that he came to the top of the ascent of the Mount of Olives, "where God was worshiped." In the last instance nothing is said about an altar or a sacrifice; everybody knows, who knows David, that he could worship God without either; and the first instance was a piece of hypocrisy on the part of Absalom, which he would have perpetrated, in defiance of such a law as that in Deuteronomy, with as little hesitation as he perpetrated his other crimes. His father's assent to it was an act of weak indulgence toward a wayward son who seemed now to manifest some gratitude toward God.

There remain, then, out of the nine passages cited by Driver in support of his proposition only the five which speak plainly of sacrifices being offered in various places by the prophet Samuel. This reminds me to say that it

is quite a custom with the destructive critics—and not less so with Driver than with others—to string out a long list of passages in support of a proposition, many of which, as in this instance, are totally irrelevant. The reader who is not familiar with the Scriptures, and is either too indolent or too busy to hunt up the passages, takes it for granted that the great scholar knows what is in his proof-texts, and that the proof is doubtless there. This, whether intended so or not, is a kind of confidence game, by which careless and too confiding readers are deceived.

What have we to say now about the fact, well known and never disputed, that during the public ministry of the prophet Samuel he offered sacrifices on altars erected at various places, and never offered any, so far as the history informs us, on the altar before the door of the tabernacle, where the law in Deuteronomy requires that they should be offered? Does it prove that he knew not the Book of Deuteronomy, and that, therefore, it had not yet been written?

I answer, first, that if Samuel was an inspired prophet, the fact that he was guided in all his official acts by the Spirit of God, even though some of these acts did infringe a ceremonial law, is his complete justification. They were instances, like those in connection with the theophanies mentioned above, in which God, not now by angels, but by his Holy Spirit, made exceptions to his own law. To the rationalists, who are the real authors of this argumentation, this answer amounts to nothing, because they deny the reality of such inspiration. But to men who believe in the divine inspiration of the prophets, this answer is conclusive. It shows that Samuel may have had the Book of Deuteronomy in his hand every day of his life, and may yet have done as he did. This consideration also justifies Samuel, though not a priest, in performing priestly functions, as it afterward justified him in assuming military command and civil jurisdiction. (See I. Sam. vii. 5-17.)

But it must be admitted that such and so many exceptions to a divine law would be extremely improbable under ordinary

circumstances. It is proper, then, in order to a complete understanding of the prophet's course, to inquire whether there were extraordinary circumstances then existing which furnished an occasion for these exceptional proceedings.

Samuel's first sacrifice was offered at Mizpah about twenty years after the capture of the ark by the Philistines. (I. Sam. vii. 5-9; cf. chap. ii.) This was when he was about twenty-five years of age. If any sacrifices had been offered anywhere within those twenty years, the record is silent with respect to them. At the beginning of this period, and for a considerable time previous to it, a state of things existed in Israel never known before, and never experienced afterward. The tabernacle, with the altar built by Moses in front of it, then stood at Shiloh. (I. Sam. i. 3.) Hophni and Phinehas were officiating as priests, their father, Eli, being high priest. The former appear to have been the only priests then officiating. Such was and had been their sacrilegious conduct that "men abhorred the offering of Jehovah" (ii. 17). If they abhorred it, they did not, of course, participate in it. This statement shows that at this time the men of Israel in general, but with exceptions to be mentioned presently, had ceased to bring offerings to the altar, and this best explains the fact that only two priests were officiating.

The crimes which had disgusted the people in general, and driven them away from the public worship of God, are specified. When a worshiper would slay his peace-offering, and give the priests their legal portion of it, the latter would demand still more of the flesh while it was raw, and then, while the portion belonging to the offerer was boiling, they would send a servant with a three-pronged flesh-hook in hand, and whatever flesh would be drawn up by this when thrust into the vessel, would be taken to the priests (ii. 12-17).³ How many men of

³ "It is difficult to understand, if the provisions of the Mosaic law were not yet in existence, (1) what was the precise sin of Hophni and Phinehas—supposing them to have existed and to have committed any sin—which called for so severe a punishment; and (2) if they were fabulous characters, what could have induced a historian who desired to recommend the regulations which had lately been introduced, to represent the priests themselves as having so grossly violated those regulations" (J. J. Lias, *Lex M.*, 262, note).

spirit, after being treated in this manner once, would ever return for another offering? The reader can best give an answer by saying how often he would return to a church in the present day if he was treated in any similar manner by the officials of the church. And who would return to church if even one of his neighbors or particular friends was dealt with in such a manner?

But this, though the most insulting to the offerers, was not the grossest crime which these abominable priests committed. We are told in the text that "they lay with the women that did service at the door of the tent of meeting" (ii. 22). Right there, in the sacred precincts where Jehovah should be adored, they committed this abomination, not even seeking, as all but brute beasts usually do, a secret place for such indulgence. What church in the whole of Christendom would be longer frequented should it be known that the priests or preachers, or church officers of any grade, who were the guardians of its sanctity, were making of it a house of shame? There is evidence that even the few who did attend the services at Shiloh under these circumstances were mostly a class not much better than the priests; for when Eli saw the pious Hannah praying earnestly with moving lips, but no audible sound, the sight of a woman at prayer was so unusual that he thought she was intoxicated. The only wonder is that the godly Elkanah still came to Shiloh once a year with his family. As to the three annual festivals which all the people were required by law to attend, it seems that they had fallen into total neglect.

The infamous conduct of these beastly men reached its climax, when, with unholy hands, they took the ark of the covenant into the battlefield, as if to force God to give Israel a victory in order to protect the symbol of his own earthly presence. Their own death in the battle, the death of their father and of the wife of one of them, the defeat of Israel, and the capture of the ark to be made a trophy in the temple of a heathen god, were the terrific consequences. The removal of the ark was Jehovah's abandonment of the tabernacle which had been

so grossly profaned, and of the people who had ceased to worship him. The dying wife of Phinehas, as if with prophetic voice, exclaimed, "The glory has departed from Israel." God protected the ark with ceaseless care, but he never returned to the deserted tent of meeting.

Another consequence followed swiftly upon the preceding. The people having been driven from the worship of Jehovah by the sacrilege of the priests, and having now been abandoned in turn by Jehovah, rushed away, as their custom was, to the gods of the heathen (vii. 4). When the ark, guided by the almost visible hand of God, returned to Beth-shemesh, after an absence of seven months, the people of that town, with a burst of enthusiasm, offered burnt offerings and sacrifices before it on the same day (vi. 15, 16); but if any priest, during the judgeship of Samuel, made an offering before the tabernacle, the fact is not recorded. That sacred structure had now become an empty shell; for all that had given it sanctity was gone.

This was the state of things in Israel when Samuel came to man's estate. How he had passed those twenty years of darkness we are not informed. But from the time that he predicted the coming fate of Eli's house, "all Israel, from Dan to Beersheba, knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet" (I. Sam. iii. 20). If he was five years of age at that time, he was twenty-five when he found that all the house of Israel, wearied with idolatry, began to "lament after Jehovah" (vii. 2). Perhaps this change had been brought about by his own influence. He issued a proclamation to all Israel, saying, "If ye do return unto Jehovah with all your heart, then put away the strange gods and the Ashtaroth from you, and prepare your hearts unto Jehovah, and serve him only: and he will deliver you out of the hands of the Philistines." They did this, and he called them together at Mizpah, where he offered for them his first burnt offering (vii. 3-9). He then assumed the office of judge, and from that day till Saul was fully established on the throne he continued to exercise it.

If Samuel had been so directed by the Spirit of God that was in him, he could have brought the ark from Kiriath-jearim,

replaced it in the tabernacle, hunted up some of the apostate priests, and set the old form of worship on foot once more. The fact that he did not do this, but that, on the contrary, he set up an altar at Ramah, where he now resided, and occasionally built others as circumstances required, shows clearly that such was the will of God at the time. It might have been his will if Deuteronomy had not yet been written, and if the law in Deuteronomy restricting sacrifice to a single altar had been written, it might still have been his will as an exception to that law. In the latter case, indeed, it was the end of that law so far as the altar at the door of the tabernacle was concerned; for regular service at that was not afterward renewed till near the close of David's reign, and then for only a few months. Such a termination may have been thought wise, partly on account of the corruptions of the past, and partly on account of God's intended transfer of sacrificial rites to the temple yet to be built.

Before advancing to the next division of the subject, it is well to notice another remark made by Driver with reference to the altars erected by Samuel. He says: "The narrator betrays no consciousness of anything irregular or abnormal having occurred."

In this answer the learned author ignores all the recorded facts above recited. Was not the narrator conscious of something irregular and abnormal when he narrated with so many details the wickedness of Eli's sons; the consequent abhorrence for the service among the people; the solemn rebukes administered to Eli for not restraining his sons; the capture of the ark and its lodgment far from the sanctuary in which it had been kept for four centuries? True, he does not say, in so many words, that Samuel's disregard of the altar at Shiloh was caused by this state of things; but when he related these irregular and abnormal circumstances he had a right to assume that his readers would see that they account for the irregular and abnormal proceedings of the prophet. In fact, his readers did recognize this connection of cause and effect, until modern criticism arose with its passion for controverting all accepted truths, and called it in question.

Let us now turn to the sacrifices which were offered between the time of Samuel and the dedication of Solomon's temple. First of all, let us trace the history of the tabernacle and its altar during this period. When Eli died it was still standing at Shiloh, where it had stood since the days of Joshua. But Shiloh, as we learn from Jeremiah, was utterly destroyed; just when or by whom we are not informed (Jer. vii. 12-14; xxvi. 6-9). The tabernacle, however, was either saved from the wreck or removed before it occurred; for in the latter part of the reign of Saul we find it at Nob, where David obtained the shewbread and the sword of Goliath from Ahimelech, the priest (I. Sam. xxi. 1-9). Nob was in the territory of Benjamin, and close in the vicinity of Gibeah, where Saul resided. Ahimelech was a son of Ahitub, who was a son of Phinehas and a grandson of Eli (xxii. 19; xiv. 3). This shows that descendants of Eli to the third generation continued to keep guardianship of the tabernacle, and that they followed it from Shiloh to Nob. Doubtless Ahimelech was a better man than his grandfather, Phinehas; but the fact that he so readily consented to give the holy bread, which none but priests could lawfully eat, to David and his servants, shows that the laws regulating the tabernacle service were still grossly violated. Shortly after this all the priests at Nob were slaughtered by Doeg, with the exception of Abiathar, son of Ahimelech, who fled to David in the cave of Adullam, and the town of Nob was depopulated (I. Sam. xxii. 18-23).

The tabernacle now disappears from the history till the latter part of David's reign, when we find it in Gibeon. This place was some seven or eight miles northwest of Jerusalem, and about the same distance due west of Nob. The ark in the meantime had remained at Kiriath-jearim. This place was nearer to Gibeon than the latter was to Jerusalem; but though the two sacred symbols were now within five or six miles of each other, they were not brought together. David, after reigning seven years at Hebron, took possession of Jerusalem, strengthened its fortifications and moved the ark into it, placing it in a

tent specially constructed for its reception. It would have cost him as little labor to have moved it into its old resting-place in the tabernacle. He not only avoids this, and puts it into a new tent, but he leaves the old structure outside the city on the hill of Gibeon. He does not, however, totally neglect the old structure and its altar; for he appoints Zadok and other priests to minister before it and to offer burnt offerings on its altar "according to all that is written in the law of Jehovah which he commanded Israel." At the same time he appointed sixty-eight priests, with Obed-Edom at their head, to minister before the ark in Jerusalem, "as every day's work required" (I. Chron. xvi. 37-42).

Here now were two altars in use almost in sight of each other, and each was served by a regularly appointed priesthood. A more open disregard of the Deuteronomic law restricting sacrifice to a single altar could not exist. If that law was in existence at the time, then David, instead of restoring the ark to the tabernacle, and requiring all sacrifices to be offered there, as the law required, deliberately and intentionally set the law aside. But as David was constantly attended by prophets, such as Nathan and Gad, besides being himself inspired in the latter part of his reign, he must have been guided in all this by inspiration. Indeed, the very fact that the ark had always stood in the tabernacle until it was captured by the Philistines, would have been a controlling reason for replacing it there, had this reason not been overruled by some superior consideration. What could this superior consideration have been, unless it was that God, having formed the purpose of a settled place of worship in Jerusalem, chose to gradually bring the tabernacle into neglect, so that the transition from it to the temple should not be so abrupt as to shock the devotional feelings of the godly among the people? David had already conceived the idea of building a temple, and the actual construction of it only awaited in God's purpose the peaceful reign of Solomon. If Deuteronomy, with its restrictive law, was already in existence, its relaxation was justified by the circumstances, and therefore it

can furnish no ground for denying the existence of that book. The argument, then, by which the non-existence of the Book of Deuteronomy is inferred from the sacrifices offered on various altars during the judgeship of Samuel and the reign of David, is a sophism which has plausibility only in the absence of a careful consideration of the facts in the case. It is an example of historical criticism which misinterprets history.

After Solomon's temple was consecrated, it must be admitted, by all who give credit to the Book of Kings, that offerings on any other altar than the one before the temple were held to be illegal. In the account of the reign of every good king down to that of Hezekiah, it is mentioned as a defect of his government that the "high places" were not taken away. This is said of Asa, of Jehoshaphat, of Jehoash, of Amaziah, of Azariah, of Jotham; but when the author comes to Hezekiah, the best of the kings down to his day, he says: "He did that which was right in the eyes of Jehovah, according to all that his father David had done. He removed the high places, and broke the pillars, and cut down the Asherah." The writer has two refrains running through his historical song—one through the story of the good kings who reigned in Jerusalem, the other running through the story of the successors of Jeroboam. In the former he sings, "Howbeit the high places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places." In the other, "He departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin." The sins of Jeroboam, thus referred to, were those of setting up an altar and image for calf-worship, and of forbidding his subjects to go to Jerusalem to worship God. They were sins against the single sanctuary to which worship was restricted by the law in Deuteronomy. The sin of omission on the part of the comparatively good kings of Judah was that of not removing the altars and images which the disobedient people were constantly setting up "on every high hill and under every green tree." When, in addition, the historian comes to the reign of a king of whom he could say, "He removed the high places, and broke

down the pillars, and cut down the Asherah," what stronger assurance could he give that worship at these places was unlawful, and that it had been tolerated only by a dereliction on the part of the kings? It was a case much like that of the liquor saloons in our own country, which are in many places prohibited by law, but are kept up in spite of law, through the unfaithfulness of executive officers. The force of this evidence is so great that our destructive critics are able to evade it only by the device to which they always resort when all others fail them—that of denying the statements of the historian. They tell us that these expressions of opposition to the high places were interpolated by a Deuteronomic writer who wrote back into the past the sentiments of his own day, his day being after the Book of Deuteronomy had been discovered by Hilkiah. They were intended to deceive the people into the belief that Deuteronomy was, as it claims to be, a book of Moses. Thus must the history go down to make room for the theory. And this is "*scientific*" criticism!

Let it also be distinctly noted that from the consecration of Solomon's temple onward, no good king or priest or prophet ever offered sacrifice at any other altar than the one in front of the temple; and that while the majority of the good kings are censured for permitting some of the people to sacrifice in the high places, the best two of them, Hezekiah and Josiah, broke down that practice to the best of their ability. So far as Judah is concerned, then, the law in Deuteronomy was recognized, and this is sufficient proof, in the absence of conflicting evidence, that Deuteronomy was known and its authority recognized in that kingdom.

Let us now turn to the northern kingdom. We learn incidentally, from Elijah's answer to the Lord at Mt. Horeb, that altars had been erected by the worshipers of Jehovah in Israel. He says: "The children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword." This was spoken during the prevalence of Baal worship under the reign of Ahab. How many of these altars had been in use we have no means of knowing; but the one on which

Elijah called down fire from heaven on Mt. Carmel was one of them; for it is said, "He repaired the altar of Jehovah that was thrown down." It was made of twelve stones, according to the twelve tribes of Israel, showing that worshipers of Jehovah among the ten tribes still recognized the unity of Israel, notwithstanding the division which had taken place. This may have been the reason why their altars were cast down.

We are to answer the question, Does the fact of these altars, whether many or few, at which sacrifices were offered by the pious people in Israel, prove that these godly people were not acquainted with the restrictive law in Deuteronomy? To reach an answer, we must remember that Jeroboam, the first king of the ten tribes, prohibited his subjects from going to Jerusalem to worship and that every succeeding king "departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin." What, then, could the godly in Israel do when they wished to make atonement for their sins? They must either erect altars in their own country, and make the prescribed offerings there, or live and die without the atonement which was necessary to their peace with God. Fortunately for them, their forefathers, previous to the bringing in of the Mosaic ritual, had erected altars wherever they had pitched their tents, and God had accepted their sacrifices. To this practice, in their extremity, they returned. Moreover, when Jeroboam issued his famous and infamous decree, all the priests and Levites in his kingdom abandoned their homes and retired into the kingdom of Judah, where the true priesthood officiated at the one legal altar; and Jeroboam appointed a new order of priests for his calf-worship (II. Chron. xi. 13-16). This compelled the people in Israel who clung to Jehovah, to resort to prophets to act as priests, or to present, after patriarchal custom, their own offerings.

It is not necessary to decide whether, in all this, the pious in Israel did right. Whether they did right or wrong, these considerations amply explain their non-observance of the Deuteronomic law of a single altar; and they show that the argu-

ment against the existence of that law, drawn from this non-observance, is a very thin sophism.⁴

§4. EVIDENCE FROM THE ALLEGED ABSENCE OF THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD.

It is claimed by the destructive critics that in the Book of Deuteronomy no official distinction is made between priests and Levites—that all Levites were qualified for priestly functions. This they hold as proof that Deuteronomy was written at a much later date than the Mosaic book of the covenant (Ex. xx.-xxiii.), which makes no provision for any priesthood at all. It is also held as proof that Deuteronomy is of earlier date than the legislation in Leviticus and Numbers, in which there is a distinction between the functions of the priests and the other members of the tribe of Levi—the natural line of development being from no priesthood at all to one consisting of a whole tribe, and then to a select family of that tribe, elevated to aristocratic dignity.

We shall examine these several allegations in the order in which they are named, and first that respecting the use of the two terms in Deuteronomy. Driver presents the common doctrine of his class in these words:

In the laws of P in Leviticus and Numbers a sharp distinction is drawn between the priests and the common Levites; in Deuteronomy it is implied (xviii. 1) that all members of the tribe of Levi are qualified to exercise priestly functions (*Int.*, 82; *Com. on Deut.*, 122).

In his later work, the *Commentary*, he modifies this statement by appending these remarks:

Thus, though there is a difference in Deuteronomy between "priest" and "Levite," it is not the difference recognized in P; in P the priests constitute a *fixed* minority of the whole tribe, viz.: the descendants of Aaron; in Deuteronomy they are a *fluctuating* minority, viz.: those members of the tribe officiating for the time at the central sanctuary. Accordingly, in Deuteronomy the distinctive title of the priests is not "sons of Aaron," but "sons of Levi" or "Levitical priests." Naturally the eldest of the families descended directly from Aaron, which had the custody of the ark, enjoyed the pre-eminence, and this is recognized in x. 6; allied families also, which had secured

⁴ This view of the subject is admirably presented by Dr. J. Sharpe, *Lex M.*, 345 f.

a position at the central sanctuary, would doubtless rank above their less fortunate brethren; but no exclusive *right* is recognized in Deuteronomy as belonging to the descendants of Aaron in contradistinction to other members of the tribe (219).

It seems from this that Deuteronomy does make a distinction between priests and Levites. It is admitted that the expression "priests and Levites" means "the Levitical priests." In his comment on xviii. 1, Driver makes this still more explicit by defining the expression as "the priests of the tribe of Levi, the Levitical priests, the standing designation of the priests in Deuteronomy" (213). And yet he makes a feeble effort to show that the expression includes the whole tribe of Levi. The whole verse under consideration reads: "The priests the Levites, even all the tribe of Levi, shall have no portion nor inheritance with Israel: they shall eat the offerings of Jehovah made by fire, and his inheritance." Driver says of the clause, "even all the tribe of Levi," that it is "an explanatory apposition to 'the priests the Levites.'" Such explanatory appositions are frequent in Deuteronomy, and denote regularly the entire group of which one or more representative items have been specified in the preceding words" (213). Let this be true, and it only shows that the entire group included in all the tribe of Levi, of which one "representative item" has been mentioned in the previous words, were to have no portion nor inheritance with Israel. But this, instead of showing that the Levitical priests included the whole tribe of Levi, only shows that they constituted "one representative item" of that "entire group."

There is a fact, strangely overlooked by Driver and his fellow critics, which thoroughly disproves the assumption that the expression "the priests the Levites" means all the tribe of Levi; and this is the fact that the author of Chronicles, who, as they freely admit, was acquainted with the law which makes "a sharp distinction" between priests and Levites, employs the same expression three times for the priests alone (II. Chron. v. 5; xxiii. 18; xxx. 27). Not only so, but the same expression is found in Josh. iii. 3, which is ascribed by these critics to E, who wrote according to hypothesis before the date of Deu-

teronomy, and yet it designates the priests only; for they bore the ark across the Jordan, and this could not have been done by the whole tribe of Levi. The expression in that place is translated in the Polychrome Bible, "the Levitical priests." Such, then, is the fate of a criticism which is held by all classes of destructive critics as proof of a contradiction between Deuteronomy and the other books of the Pentateuch.

In the rest of the extract from Driver's *Commentary* given above, there are two points of argument that demand attention, and both may be answered together. First, that though a difference between priests and Levites is recognized in Deuteronomy, it is not the same difference which is clearly defined in P; that is, in Leviticus. Second, that while the descendants of Aaron had the custody of the ark, and on this account enjoyed a pre-eminence, no exclusive *right* is recognized as belonging to them. This is all answered by the fact that in Deuteronomy the distinction between priests and Levites is nowhere formally stated, but in the three middle books it is. If, then, we grant what the books themselves claim, that these middle books which make the distinction were written before Moses delivered the addresses in Deuteronomy, it is seen at once that there was no occasion in Deuteronomy for pointing out this distinction, it being perfectly well known to all the people. It is only by first assuming that Deuteronomy preceded the other books that these critics can find a place for this argument; it can not therefore be used as proof of that precedence. When a fact can be equally accounted for by either of two suppositions, it can not be logically used as a proof of either.

We shall have more to say respecting the alleged differences between Deuteronomy and the middle books on this subject of the Levites when we come to speak of other alleged contradictions between them.

In this connection it may be well to notice the use that has been made of Micah's Levite priest as a proof of the priestly character of the Levites in the time of the judges. Andrew Harper states the case very briefly in these words:

As we see from the story of Micah in Judges, it was considered desirable to have a Levite for priest everywhere, and consequently there would arise at all the high places Levitic priesthoods, most probably in part hereditary (*Com.*, p. 325).

When the *reason* why Micah was glad to obtain a Levite as his priest is considered, the inference sought to be derived from the fact disappears. This reason is uniformly ignored by the critics who argue as Harper does. It is this: Micah had set up a silver idol in his house, made of some silver which he had stolen from his mother; and, because he could do no better, he made one of his sons the priest to serve before it. The son was probably a chip from the old block. One day a good-for-nothing Levite, who was wandering about like a modern tramp, "to sojourn where he could find a place," dropped in, and Micah, on learning who he was, offered him five dollars a year and one suit of clothes, if he would stay with him and be his priest. The trifling fellow accepted the offer, and Micah was fool enough to say, "Now I know the Lord will do me good, seeing that I have a Levite for my priest." He was lifted up by the exchange, very much as a modern saloon-keeper would be if he could get a deacon for his bartender. But what proof does this afford that all Levites in those days exercised priestly functions? It was not long before this tramp Levite, for the sake of better wages, combined with some rascally Danites to steal Micah's image and carry it off to a city which the Danites were about to steal, and to set up a house of worship there. Served Micah about right (*Judg.* xvii., xviii.).

Driver agrees with Harper in thinking that many of the priests of the high places were Levites; and the reckless conduct of Micah's Levite makes this highly probable. In times of demoralization the people always neglect their duty toward the ministers of religion, and the latter are apt to become demoralized with them, and, for the sake of money or notoriety, to be ready for anything that turns up. But Driver makes a singular use of this fact in the following passage in his *Commentary*:

The aim of Deuteronomy is to limit the exclusiveness of the Jerusalem priests: it provides that a country Levite, coming to officiate at the central sanctuary, is to share in the dues received there equally

with the priests resident on the spot. How far this provision was acted on by the Jerusalem priests, we do not know; II. Kings xxiii 9 shows that, at least after the abolition of the high places by Josiah, the disestablished priests (who are yet styled "the brethren of those at Jerusalem"), though they were allowed the maintenance due to them as priests by the law of Deut. xviii. 8, were not admitted to the exercise of priestly functions at the temple (220).

This is true, but where did Josiah get the idea of thus dealing with these priests, and what authority could he claim for refusing them, when they returned to their proper places, the privileges of their office? This question the critics do not pretend to answer, although an answer is close at hand if they were willing to use it, and it can scarcely have escaped the notice of them all. This exclusion is explicitly provided for in the Book of Leviticus in the cases of members of the priestly family who were marred by physical blemishes. They were to eat of the holy meats, but were not to officiate at the altar (Lev. xxi. 16-24). Here was an analogous case to guide the judgment of the king, and the fact that he followed it to the letter indicates the strong probability that he had it before him, and that therefore the critical theory which makes Deuteronomy precede the other law-books is erroneous.

We have already mentioned, in the beginning of this section, the claim that the first legislation made no provision for a priesthood. We now wish to speak of it more particularly. Robertson Smith sets forth the claim in the terms that follow:

The first legislation had no law of priesthood, no provision as to priestly dues. The permission of many altars, which it presupposes, is given in Ex. xx. 24-26, in a form that assumes the right of laymen to offer sacrifice, as we actually find them doing in so many parts of the history. Yet a closer observation shows that the old law presupposes a priesthood, whose business lies less with sacrifice than with the divine Torah which they administer in the sanctuary as the successors of Moses (*O. T.*, 359).

The "first legislation" here mentioned is that of Ex. xx. 23. But when this legislation was given, a priesthood was already in existence; for when God commanded Moses to come up into the mount where he gave that legislation, he said to Moses: "Let the priests also, who come near to Jehovah, sanctify themselves, lest Jehovah break forth upon them."

And again: "Let not the priests and the people break through to come unto Jehovah, lest he break forth upon them" (Ex. xix. 22, 24). These were undoubtedly men who had been recognized as priests before this first legislation was given; that is, the priests of the patriarchal dispensation. On the same historical authority we affirm that during the forty days' sojourn in the mount by Moses, which followed immediately upon this legislation, God selected the family of Aaron to be his priests, thus establishing a new order of priesthood; for we read (xxviii. 1) that God said to Moses: "Bring thou near unto thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may minister unto me in the priest's office, even Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's sons." Then follows, in the same chapter, a description of the priestly garments which they were to wear, and in the next chapter the law of their consecration; and in the fortieth chapter, the tabernacle and its furniture having been then completed, we have a description of their consecration. Now, all this history has to be cast aside as absolutely false before it can be fairly asserted that the first legislation provided for no priesthood, that every man was left to offer his own sacrifice, or that all the descendants of Levi were qualified for priestly functions. And this criticism, which destroys the history that we have, and substitutes something purely imaginary in its place, is styled *historical* and *scientific*!⁵

§5. EVIDENCE FROM ALLEGED CONTRADICTIONS.

It is constantly alleged by the advocates of the late date of Deuteronomy that there are contradictions between it and the three middle books of the Pentateuch which are inconsistent with the supposition that all came from the same writer, and which demand both a later author than Moses for Deuteron-

⁵ For the arguments on this topic expressed by other authors, see Robertson Smith, *Prophets*, 32, 101; Addis, *D. of H.*, xlv., lxxxiv. to lxxxvii.; A. Harper, *Com.*, 21-25, 310-313; Bartlett, *Veracity of Hex.*, chap. xix.; F. E. Spencer, *Lex M.*, 550; Bissell, *O. and S. of Pent.*, 112-122.

omy, and a still later date for the other books. A portion of the evidence from this source has been considered already in Section 3, and now we take up the rest.

1. Contradictions as to the Financial Condition of the Levites. This contradiction is compactly stated by Driver in these words:

Deut. xviii. 6 is inconsistent with the institution of Levitical cities prescribed in Num. xxxv. It implies that the Levite has no settled residence, but is a "*sojourner*" in one or other of the cities ("gates") of Israel. The terms of the verse are indeed entirely compatible with the institution of Levitical cities, supposing it to have been imperfectly put in force; but they fall strangely from one who, *ex hypothesi*, had only six months previously assigned to the Levites permanent dwelling-places. The same representation recurs in other parts of Deuteronomy: the Levites are frequently alluded to as scattered about the land, and are earnestly commended to the Israelites' charity—Chaps. xii. 12; xviii. 19; xiv. 27, 29; xvi. 11, 14; xxvi. 11-13 (*Int.*, 83).

Andrew Harper's presentation of the case is quite similar:

The same conclusions present themselves if we look more closely into the curious fact that Deuteronomy always speaks of the Levites as poor. . . . But this poverty is not consistent with their whole position as sketched in the Levitical legislation. There we have the Levites launched as a regularly organized priestly corporation, endowed with ample revenues, and ruled and represented by a high priest of the family of Aaron, clothed with powers almost royal, surrounded by a priestly nobility of his own family, and by a bodyguard of his tribesmen entirely at his disposal. Such a body never has remained chronically and notoriously poor (*Com. on Deut.*, 25, 26).

In these last remarks, Mr. Harper must have had in mind the established clergy of England, whose revenues are collected, like those of the civil government, by compulsion; and yet, even the English clergy of the lower orders remain "chronically and notoriously poor." Only the bishops and higher orders of clergy are "chronically and notoriously" rich. But the financial condition of the Levites, as provided for in the "Levitical legislation," is very imperfectly understood by both of these scholars. True, according to the law respecting Levitical cities, every family of the tribe was to be provided with a home in such a city, but it is notorious that a house to live in brings a man no income for the support of his family. True, a strip of pasture land a thousand yards in width was to be left around every city; but this would barely support the goats which were

needed for milk, and could bring no income. True, also, that a tithe of the increase from the fields and the flocks and herds of the other tribes, was to be given to the Levites; and this would have been an ample provision for their support if, as in England, an armed and ample police force had been provided for its prompt collection and delivery; but there was no provision for the forcible collection of the tithe, and therefore this was left to the good will of the people at large. The support of the Levites was analogous, not to that of the clergy of an established church in modern times, but to that of the dissenting clergy in Great Britain and the Protestant ministry in America. It is a well-known fact that this ministry is, with rare exceptions, "chronically and notoriously poor." The income for its support is meager, and it varies with what the people call "good times" and "hard times." When "hard times" set in, one of the first moves in economy is a reduction in the income of preachers. As a result, thousands of them are often compelled to resort to secular labor for the means of livelihood. The same is true when waves of immorality sweep over the land, or seasons of lethargy benumb the souls of religious people.

On account of these considerations, the legislation for the support of the Levites, instead of securing them against want, was a deliberate consignment of the whole tribe to such a dependence on the liberality of the other tribes as to insure to them frequent periods of great destitution. Professor Driver, as quoted above, shows that he recognizes this fact, when he says that the terms in which the Levite is spoken of in Deuteronomy are "entirely compatible with the institution of Levitical cities, supposing it to have been imperfectly put in force." But what provision of the kind, in the history of any nation, ever was perfectly put in force when none but moral force was to be applied? If all these provisions were made by Moses in the wilderness, as they claim to have been, every thoughtful Levite must have seen in advance, if he judged the future faithfulness of the other tribes by what he

had known of it in the past, that his tribe was doomed to such uncertainty of support as would insure frequent periods of destitution. And Moses, above all others, must have foreseen this contingency. Yet Professor Driver says that his remarks about the future poverty of the Levites, and especially what he says of the Levite being at times a sojourner in some city of the other tribes, "falls strangely from one who, *ex hypothesi*, had only six months previously assigned to the Levites permanent dwelling-places." It would have sounded much more strange if a man of the experience and foresight possessed by Moses, had spoken confidently of the future prosperity of the Levites under the working of such a system as he provided.

This view of the subject is confirmed by the facts of history. For if we concede that Moses gave the Levitical legislation, and that the historical books of the Old Testament give real history, we find the experiences of the Levites to have actually been what sound judgment should have anticipated in advance. The Levite who officiated as a priest before Micah's silver image lived in a time of lawlessness, when "there was no king in Israel;" and this fully accounts for his wandering and poverty.

When Nehemiah made his second visit to Jerusalem he says: "I perceived that the portion of the Levites had not been given them, so that the Levites and the singers that did the work were fled every one to his field." This neglect followed close upon a solemn covenant of the people made after hearing read the law of Moses, in which the faithful payment of the tithes was one of the neglected duties to which they pledged themselves (Neh. xiii. 10; x. 37-39, 28, 29). If such neglect of the Levites, compelling them to resort to the fields for a livelihood, occurred during the ministry of Nehemiah, how much more certainly must it have occurred during the idolatrous reigns of such kings as Ahaz, Manasseh and Amon, to say nothing of Ahaziah and Athaliah.

Finally, it is only by denying the truth of history for the sake of a theory, that the testimony of Chronicles with refer-

ence to the Levitical cities in the days of Jeroboam can be set aside. It is declared by the author of this book that when Jeroboam set up his idolatrous worship at Bethel, and forbade his subjects to go to Jerusalem to worship God, the Levites in all Israel resorted to Rehoboam. "They left their suburbs and their possessions, and came to Judah and Jerusalem" (II. Chron. xi. 13, 14). We thus see that when, in Deuteronomy, the Levites were spoken of as if they would be a poor tribe, needing the religious benevolence of their brethren, this is not contradictory to the appointment of certain cities for them to dwell in, but was an unavoidable consequence of the very means of support which is provided in the Levitical legislation. Its bearing as evidence is against the "critics."

It is notoriously easy, in the ardor of debate, to overstate the facts in a case. This has been done by both of the writers quoted above in reference to the poverty of the Levites. We are told by Professor Driver that in Deuteronomy "the Levites are frequently spoken of as scattered about the land, and are earnestly commended to the Israelites' charity;" and by Mr. Harper, that "Deuteronomy always speaks of the Levite as poor." We have thus far argued as if these statements were correct; we now propose to state the case as it is. The name "Levite," in the singular or the plural number, occurs nineteen times in Deuteronomy. Twice they are mentioned as guardians of the book of the law (xvii. 18); once in connection with the curses to be pronounced at Mount Ebal (xxvii. 14); once as speaking with Moses certain commands of God (xxvii. 9); once in their capacity as teachers (xxiv. 8); once as constituting a part of the court of final appeals (xvii. 9); four times in connection with the common rejoicings before Jehovah on festal occasions (xii. 18; xvi. 11, 14; xxvi. 11); twice when the people are directed to give the tithes to them (xxvi. 12, 13); three times with reference to their being without landed inheritance (xii. 12; xiv. 29; xviii. 1); twice in exhortations to the people not to forsake them (xii. 19; xiv. 27); and twice in the directions concerning a homeless Levite who may come to the central sanctuary to serve among his brethren.

Strictly speaking, in only five of these passages is the poverty of the Levites spoken of at all, and in only two are the people of the other tribes exhorted not to forsake them. This falls very far short of what one would suspect from the strong language of Driver and Harper; and if, as we have argued before, the whole of the legislation contained in Leviticus and Numbers had been already enacted, this was no worse than a fair amount of good sense on the part of Moses, without the aid of inspiration, would have enabled him to anticipate.

Much has been said in this connection about the supposed case of a Levite mentioned in Deut. xviii. 6-8. The text says:

And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel, where he sojourneth, and come with all the desire of his soul unto the place which Jehovah shall choose; then he shall minister in the name of Jehovah his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which stand there before Jehovah. They shall have like portion to eat, besides that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.

It has been held that the condition of this Levite was that of all the tribe. But he is clearly distinguished from the rest by the fact implied in the last clause, that he had sold his patrimony. His condition is explained and accounted for by the law in reference to Levitical cities, and it can be explained in no other way. According to the statute governing the sale and redemption of real estate, if the house of a Levite was sold, he could redeem it at any time; and if it was redeemed by another Levite, it went out of the latter's possession and into that of the original owner in the jubile (Lev. xxv. 32, 33). The Levite's patrimony was his dwelling-house in the Levitical city, which he had received by inheritance from his forefathers back to the beginning. This he might sell; and if he should not be able to redeem it, he was deprived of it till the next jubile. In the interval, if the proceeds of the sale were not sufficient to supply his wants, this law in Deuteronomy gave him the privilege of coming to the central sanctuary and partaking with the Levites doing service there of the food provided for them. This, together with what he had left from the sale of his patrimony, would keep him from suffering. This provision, then, instead of being contradictory to the pre-

vicious existence of Levitical cities, demands these and the law regulating property in them as its explanation.

I have said that this is the only explanation of the case. I am justified in this assertion by the failure of most of the critics to suggest any other, and by the absurdity of the explanations offered by some. The most elaborate attempt at explanation which has come under my eye is that offered by Driver in the following paragraph:

Besides his selling according to the fathers. The words are very obscure: they are usually understood to mean "apart from what he has realized by selling the possessions belonging to him in virtue of his family descent" (paraphrased in R. V. by "beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony")—possessions which, it is supposed, he would part with at the time of leaving the country for the central sanctuary. Dillman (after J. D. Michaelis, Schultz) explains, "Beside what he has realized by selling the dues (tithe, etc.) rendered to him at his home by particular families." Either explanation is questionable: all that can be said is that the words describe some private source of income possessed by the Levite, distinct from what he receives as a priest officiating at the central sanctuary (*Com.*, 217 f.).

When scholarly men turn away from plain facts supplied in the text itself, which perfectly explain and account for a provision of the law, and resort to conjectures so unfounded and so conflicting, it is a sure sign that their minds have been warped by a theory which is untenable, but which they think themselves bound to uphold.

In regard to the law respecting Levitical cities, Addis, following Wellhausen, takes extreme ground, and his remarks on the subject will lead us to another view of the arguments which we have just considered. He says:

There is no reason to think that the "priestly" rules on the income of the priests and Levites existed before the exile. Ezekiel is silent about the offering of tithes and the firstborn of beasts to the priests and Levites. Plainly he had never before heard of priestly and Levitical cities. For he makes a provision in lands for the priests and Levites, without alluding to any previous arrangement. Ezekiel's plan is clear and practicable; the Levitical cities, on the contrary, were never, and never could have been, more than a theocratic dream. In such a country as Palestine, which consists mostly of hills pressed together and separated by narrow ravines, no mortal power could set apart forty-eight cities surrounded by a pasture land of two thousand ells square (*D. of H.*, I. xxxviii.).

One would think from this last remark, that Mr. Addis supposes all of the cities and villages of Palestine to be situated in the bottoms or on the edges of deep ravines. He certainly has never visited Palestine, or read attentively what has been written of it; for even now it has not forty-eight, but nearer 408 towns, with twice two thousand cubits around them, well suited for pasturage. Is he ignorant of the fact that much more than half the surface is as smooth and level as a Western prairie? Again, if the Levitical cities "never were, and never could have been, more than a theocratic dream," how could the writers of Joshua and Numbers have been believed when they wrote about them? And as to Ezekiel, if his silence about them shows that he knew nothing of them, why does not his silence about the offering of tithes and the firstborn of beasts, which are mentioned in Deuteronomy, prove that he knew nothing about them? It is acknowledged that Deuteronomy was Ezekiel's law-book; and if he is silent about laws contained in it, why may he not have been equally silent in regard to other laws, and especially about Levitical cities which had confessedly ceased to be such when Ezekiel wrote? All these assertions are boldly uttered by Mr. Addis, but in uttering them he is whistling against the wind.

The facts in the case suggest still another consideration, which we will mention before we dismiss this argument. If it is incredible, or inconsistent with Deuteronomy, that Levitical cities existed before the exile, what about the possibility of their existence, as described in Numbers and Joshua, *after* the exile? After the exile, and previous to the close of the Old Testament history, the Jews occupied scarcely more than the territory once belonging to Judah, and this very sparsely. How, at that period, could the supposititious writer of the Book of Numbers palm off upon the people a law which required forty-eight Levitical cities, and how could the writer of Joshua name these cities and give their locations in the various tribes, when everybody knew that both the law and the pretended compliance with it had no existence? And again, what motive could have actuated the two falsehoods, and how

could their author have acquired the ingenuity in lying necessary to their invention? He was a greater genius than the author of "Utopia," with less conscience than the author of "Sindbad the Sailor." When men make such characters out of the writers of the Bible, and ask us to accept them, we decline.

Before we finally dismiss this subject, we invite attention to another statement in Deuteronomy which can be accounted for only on the supposition that the Levitical legislation preceded that in Deuteronomy. It is found in the following words, addressed by Moses to the Israelites with reference to the transactions at Mount Sinai: "At that time Jehovah separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, to stand before Jehovah to minister unto him, to bless in his name, unto this day. Wherefore Levi hath no portion nor inheritance with his brethren: Jehovah is his inheritance, according as Jehovah thy God spake to him" (x. 8, 9).

This last clause, "according as Jehovah thy God spake to him," can not refer to anything said in Deuteronomy; for this is the first mention of the subject in this book. It must, then, refer to something said previously. If Moses spoke the words, it must refer to what is written in Num. xviii. 21-24, where the statute referred to is recorded; and it proves that the transaction in Numbers preceded those in Deuteronomy. It proves particularly that the Levitical legislation, instead of being enacted one thousand years after Moses, as our critics allege, was enacted by Moses himself. The only attempt that I have seen to evade the force of this argument is made by Andrew Harper, who, in explaining the words, "as he hath spoken to them," says: "The only place in Scripture in which such a promise is given is Num. xviii. 20-24; so that these passages, if not referred to by the author of Deuteronomy, must be founded on a tradition already old in his time" (*Com.*, 314). If we accept this as the alternative, it follows either that the Book of Numbers was written before Deuteronomy, which refutes the critical theory, or at least that this

part of the Levitical legislation was already in existence. But this is not the whole story. The supposed writer of Deuteronomy put these words in the mouth of Moses, and by doing so he testifies that the Levitical legislation preceded the date at which Moses spoke. He fails, then, to serve the purpose of those who invented him, and they may as well set him aside as a useless device.

2. Contradiction as to Tithes. All the destructive critics unite in claiming that there is such a contradiction between Deuteronomy and Numbers in regard to tithes as to prove that the two books were written by different authors and far apart in point of time.

Professor Driver, after setting forth the law of tithes as he finds it in Deuteronomy, states the position of his class of critics in these words:

The Deuteronomic law of tithes is, however, in serious, and indeed irreconcilable, conflict with the law of P on the same subject (*Com. Deut.*, 169).

By "the law of P" he means the law formally prescribed in Num. xviii. 21-32, and alluded to in Lev. xxvii. 30-33. Whether this proposition can be maintained or not, is to be determined by a careful consideration of the provisions in the two laws. We shall first follow Driver in his representation of the law in Deuteronomy. He begins his exposition by stating the general law in these terms:

Israel is to show its devotion to Jehovah by rendering him a tithe of all the produce of the soil, to be eaten by the offerer, with his household, at the central sanctuary, at a sacred feast, to which the Levite is to be invited as a guest: those resident at a distance may take with them the value of the tithe in money, and expend it at the sanctuary in such food as they desire, to be consumed similarly at a sacred feast. Every third year, however, the tithe is not to be consumed at the central sanctuary, but to be stored up in the Israelite's native place, as a charitable fund for the relief of the landless and the destitute.

This representation is near enough to the truth to plausibly represent the text, and far enough from it to establish the appearance of a contradiction. The text certainly does say: "Thou shalt surely tithe all the increase of thy seed, that which cometh forth of the field year by year. And thou shalt eat

before Jehovah thy God, in the place which he shall choose to cause his name to dwell there, the tithe of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the firstlings of thy herd and thy flock; that thou mayest learn to fear Jehovah thy God always" (Deut. xiv. 22, 23). But it does not say, as Professor Driver's statement implies, that they were to eat *all* of the tithe of these various articles. It is not guilty of this absurdity. That it is an absurdity is evident the very moment we consider what the amount of the tithe would be. If the man's little farm yielded barely enough to feed his family, this interpretation of the law would require him to eat up at one feast what would keep his family for five weeks. Or, to put the case in another form, if his farm yielded annually 100 bushels of wheat, 100 gallons of wine and 100 gallons of oil, and if his firstlings should be only one lamb, one kid and one calf, he would be required at this "sacred feast" to eat up ten bushels of wheat, ten gallons of wine, ten gallons of oil, a lamb, a kid and a calf. Big feasting for a poor man! And then, if he were a rich man, with a larger body of land, he might have to eat at one feast 100 bushels of wheat, 100 gallons of wine, 100 gallons of oil, ten lambs, ten kids and ten calves.

Now, the only way to relieve the law of this absurdity is to suppose that it provided only for a single meal out of the tithe before it was left for the Lord, that is, for the support of the Lord's ministry—the priests and Levites. If this law in Deuteronomy was the beginning of legislation on the subject, we admit that there would be no room for this interpretation of it, seeing that it makes no provision for the priests and Levites beyond the single feast. But if, as the Book of Numbers represents, the law that a tithe of all products of the soil cultivated by eleven tribes was to be given annually for the support of the tribe of Levi, this Deuteronomic law would have been readily understood when given, and would be as readily understood now, as simply providing that, when the farmer came up annually with his tithe and his firstlings, he should unite with the beneficiaries of it in a feast on part of it ere he left the remainder to its appointed purpose. It was

a very wise provision; because it had the tendency to make the giver part from his gift more cheerfully.

There is still another reason, and a very imperative one, for thus understanding the law. If the whole tithe were to be eaten at one feast, the Levite would certainly be well stuffed at the time, but what provision would this be for the rest of the year? He would have nothing to eat except when he could find some farmer coming up with his tithe, and there would be intervals of feasting and longer ones of fasting throughout the year—a mode of living not conducive to good health or long life.

Our professor and his company are equally wide of the mark in reference to the tithe of the third year. The law says: "At the end of every three years thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase in the same year, and shalt lay it up within thy gates: and the Levite, because he hath no portion nor inheritance with thee, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied; that Jehovah thy God may bless thee in all the work of thy hands which thou doest" (28, 29). In this instance, as in the other, it would be impossible to eat all the tithe at one feast; and if it were thus eaten, the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless and the widow would alternate between enormous feasts and excruciating fasts. The meaning evidently is that out of the supply laid up and kept on hand the Levites were to be provided for, and the poor were to be kept from suffering. But here, again, the law in Numbers is presupposed. It had already provided for the support of the Levites out of the tithe, and this law simply adds the provision that the poor of the cities in which the tithe was stored should also be fed from it.

We are now to see in what way Professor Driver makes out his case of an irreconcilable conflict between this law of Deuteronomy and the law in Leviticus and Numbers. He says:

In Num. xviii. 21-28 the tithe is appropriated entirely to the maintenance of the priestly tribe, being paid in the first instance to the

Levites, who in their turn pay a tenth of what they receive to the priests; in Deuteronomy it is spent partly at sacred feasts (partaken in by the offerer and his household), partly in the relief of the poor—in both cases the Levite (by which in Deuteronomy are meant the members of the tribe generally, including priests) sharing only in company with others, as the recipient of the Israelite's benevolence (p. 169).

This is all substantially true, but where is the irreconcilable conflict? If God through Moses gave the first law, why should he be charged with contradicting himself by afterward providing that the contributor of the tithe might enjoy one feast on it in company with the Levites, and that while it was kept in store for the Levites, any suffering poor in the store city should be relieved from it? If this later provision had been made after the first had gone into operation, the Levites would have been deprived of a small part of that which had previously been their own; but if we accept the Scriptures for it, both laws were given before either went into effect. It is like the provisions of a man's will in which by an early clause he bequeaths certain property to one of his children, and in a later clause directs that this child shall give an annual feast to his brothers and sisters, and keep from suffering any of them who might become very poor. Who, in this case, would proclaim that the two clauses of the will are in irreconcilable conflict, and that therefore both could not have been written by the same testator? Certainly no sane man, unless he was so determined to make a point against the will as to lose for the moment his sanity.

The second point of irreconcilability is stated by Driver in these words:

Further, in Deuteronomy the tithe is exacted only on the *vegetable* produce; in Num. xviii., though it is not exactly so stated, the impression produced by the terms employed (note the similes in verses 27-30) is that here also only a vegetable tithe is intended. If, however, Lev. xvii. 32 f. be rightly regarded as an original part of the legislation of P, so that it may be legitimately used in the interpretation of Num. xviii., the tithe levied on the annual increase of cattle will be included as well. But, in either case, a large proportion of what in Numbers is devoted exclusively to the support of the priestly tribe, remains in Deuteronomy the property of the lay Israelite (169, 170).

How could the learned author designate as "a large proportion" that which was only a single meal eaten out of the tenth of all of the farmer's increase for a year? And how could he say that a large proportion "remains the property of the lay Israelite," when none of it remained with him except what he carried away in his stomach? Such exaggerated statements are not made by thoughtful men except when they are hard pressed in making out a case.

There is a custom in modern times, though not known in the established churches of the Old World, which illustrates the sacred feasts of Deuteronomy. The members of a congregation often gather at the house of the minister, bringing with them various articles of food to supply his storeroom for months to come; yet the whole company remains to have a feast with the family out of what has been brought. The feast adds a charm to the occasion, and increases the good will of both the givers and the receiver. Such was the evident intention of the feast given on the occasion of delivering the tithe to the Levites.

3. As to the Priest's Portion of the Peace-offerings. The law in Deuteronomy is this: "And this shall be the priest's due from the people, from them that offer a sacrifice, whether it be ox or sheep, that they shall give unto the priest the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw" (xviii. 3). Driver says:

This is in direct contradiction to Lev. vii. 32-34 (P), which prescribes the breast and the right thigh as the priest's due of the peace-offerings (*Com.*, 215).

Should this be granted, what would it prove? Would it prove that both laws were not given by Moses? Or would it prove that, having given the one in Leviticus nearly forty years previously, he now gives this as an addition? Suppose Professor Driver to be a priest, and there comes a man with a fat ox to make a peace-offering. He offers Driver the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw. Driver answers, "No, sir; the law gives me the breast and the right thigh. I will not accept the shoulder in place of the thigh, nor the cheeks

and maw in place of the breast." What would the offerer say? According to Driver the critic, he would say, "There is another law contradictory to this, which says you must be content with the shoulder, the cheeks and the maw, and this being the later law, it abolishes the former." I think that Driver the priest would see a point that Driver the critic overlooks. He would reply, "No, sir; the two laws do not contradict each other. One gives me the breast and the right thigh; the other gives me the right shoulder, the cheeks and the maw; and I will have all that both laws give me." The priest, looking at his own interest, would not fail to be a better interpreter than the critic, whose chief interest is to find contradictions. He would see that the later law, instead of contradicting or repealing the former, only added to the portion to be given to the priest. No reason is given for the addition; for it is not the custom of the Lawgiver to assign reasons for all of his enactments; but we can easily discover one arising out of changing conditions. During the forty years in the wilderness, the priests were few in number, and the flocks and herds of the people were few also; but after crossing the Jordan, which was soon to take place, this would be reversed—the priests would become a numerous family, the people would be in possession of abundance of cattle taken as spoil from the Canaanites, and a more liberal provision for the priests was but just. Even at the time when Moses was delivering this law, the latter part of the change had set in by means of the immense herds of animals recently taken as spoil from the Midianites (Num. xxxi. 25-47). Had the critics taken a common-sense view of the subject, and taken into consideration the attending circumstances, they would never have conceived this argument against the Mosaic origin of the law.

4. The Sacrifices of the Passover. This alleged discrepancy is thus presented by Driver:

Deut. xvi. 2: "Thou shalt sacrifice the passover unto Jehovah thy God, (even) sheep and oxen." In P (Ex. xii. 3-6) the paschal sacrifice is a *lamb*. The two laws, it is evident, represent the usage of two different stages in the history of the feast; when Deuteronomy was

written, the victim might be either a bullock or a sheep; when P was written, the choice was limited to a lamb (*Com.*, 191).

This is another instance of begging the question. Only by assuming that the laws in Deuteronomy preceded those in Exodus and Leviticus, and then ignoring a large part of the latter, can this charge of contradiction be made plausible. Fully and fairly stated, the latter provides, first, that the victim consumed on the first night of the passover week must be a lamb of the first year (Ex. xii. 1-8); and, second, that after this they should "offer an offering made by fire unto Jehovah seven days" (Lev. xxiii. 8). Whether the victims of these "offerings made by fire," which means burnt offerings, were to be of the flock or the herd is not specified. Now, if we let this law stand where God placed it, as part of the legislation given at Mt. Sinai, we shall find no difficulty in understanding the later provision in Deuteronomy, and not a shadow of contradiction will appear. Moses will then be understood in the latter passage as meaning by sacrifice of sheep and oxen the burnt offerings which *followed* the eating of the paschal lamb, and by the word "passover," not the paschal supper, but the sacrificial service of the seven days. So any Jew in the audience who heard Moses would instinctively and necessarily understand him; and so would any modern reader who had read the previous law and remembered it. Even Kuenen so understands it (ii. 30). Thus another alleged discrepancy vanishes, and that which was to prove that Moses did not write Deuteronomy is no mean proof that he did.

5. Eating that which Dies of Itself, or is Torn by a Beast. The statutes on this subject, taken in the order which they have in the Scriptures, are these:

"And ye shall be holy men unto me; therefore ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs" (Ex. xxii. 31). This is the first mention of the subject, and the only specification is flesh torn by a beast. The persons prohibited from eating it are the Jews.

"And every soul that eateth that which dieth of itself, or that which is torn of beasts, whether he be homeborn or a

stranger, he shall wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the even: then shall he be clean. But if he wash them not, nor bathe his flesh, then shall he bear his iniquity" (Lev. xvii. 15, 16). Here the specification of flesh that dieth of itself is added, and the penalty of eating it is prescribed. It simply made the person unclean with that particular kind of uncleanness which was removed the same day by washing the clothes and bathing the flesh. Clearly this is an addition to the original law, not a contradiction of it.

"Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself: thou mayest give it to the stranger that is within thy gates, that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it to a foreigner: for thou art a holy people in Jehovah thy God" (Deut. xiv. 21).

Taking the three statutes together, the matter stands thus: The Hebrew is forbidden in all three to eat of the flesh referred to. He is told to throw it to the dogs or he *may* give it or sell it to strangers. The reason for the prohibition is, not that the flesh was unhealthy, but that eating it, like eating any of the unclean animals mentioned in the preceding verses of the passage in Deuteronomy, made the person legally unclean. The "stranger" or the "foreigner" is not in either passage forbidden to eat it; but if he does, he, like the Jew, must bathe his flesh and wash his clothes.

An unsophisticated mind would not dream of a conflict between any of the provisions of this law, but not so with our critics. Professor Driver, who fairly though very briefly represents them all, says of the passage in Deuteronomy:

It is in conflict with the law of Leviticus; for in Deuteronomy what is prohibited to the Israelite is allowed to be given to the "stranger" or "foreigner" resident in Israel, whereas in Leviticus it is forbidden to both alike (except under the condition of a subsequent purification). The Israelite and the stranger are thus placed on *different* footings in Deuteronomy; they are placed on the *same* footing in Leviticus (*Com.*, 165).

The conflict here so positively asserted does not exist. The reader can see, by a glance at the passage quoted above from Leviticus, that the eating in question is not "forbidden to both alike," neither is it formally forbidden to either. It

is simply ordered that if either eat the flesh that dieth of itself, or is torn by beasts, he shall wash his clothes and bathe himself in water. The two are treated alike only in that which follows the eating, not in the prohibition of the latter. And in Deuteronomy there is nothing to relieve from this washing and bathing the stranger to whom the flesh may be given by a Jew. It was not required of strangers and foreigners that they should be "holy unto Jehovah," and consequently some things forbidden the Jews, in order to their ceremonial holiness, were permitted to the foreigner who might reside among them. The Jew was forbidden to eat the flesh of any quadruped that did not chew the cud and part the hoof; but the stranger might freely eat of any forbidden flesh, and the Jew might sell it to him if he had it for sale.

This privilege of selling to strangers flesh that died of itself has been criticised on moral grounds. It has been compared to the act of offering such flesh in our markets—a practice forbidden by law. But it is not implied in the law of Moses that the seller of such flesh might lie to his foreign customer by telling him that the animal had been slaughtered in the usual way; it is clearly implied that it was to be sold for what it was. The fact that the heathen had no scruples about eating such flesh, as many heathen have none at the present day, removes from the transaction the thought of deception and the temptation to it.

6. As to Hebrew Bondservants. Our destructive critics affect to find several contradictions in the laws regulating the bondage to which Hebrew men and women were liable. In both Exodus and Deuteronomy it is provided that a Hebrew sold to one of his brethren shall serve him only six years; but if, at the end of that time, he prefers to remain in bondage, the master shall bore a hole in his ear with an awl, and he shall remain a bondman for life. In Exodus it is provided that this boring shall be done before the judges (rendered "God" in R. V.), evidently to guard against fraud; for the judges would be disinterested witnesses that the bondman had given his free consent. In Deuteronomy Moses omits this provision, and

simply says, "Thou shalt take an awl, and thrust it through his ear unto the door, and he shall be thy servant forever" (xv. 17). The door would be a firm substance against which to press the ear before piercing it, thus lessening the pain and preventing laceration. It is on this omission in Deuteronomy that a charge of contradiction is based. Robertson Smith (*Prophets*, 100), Driver and Addis (*D. of H.*, xlvi.), for instance, following their German leaders,⁶ claim that because the law in Exodus says that the bondservant must be brought to God (the judges) for the ceremony of boring, he must be brought to a sanctuary. Smith and Driver say to "the sanctuary," while Addis says to "a local sanctuary." But, inasmuch as this requirement is omitted in Deuteronomy, it is inferred that in the latter we have a different law. Driver states the inference thus:

In Exodus the ceremony is a public and official one; in Deuteronomy it is of a purely domestic character, being transacted entirely at the master's own house (*Com.*, 184).

This inference is very disparaging to the good sense of the "Deuteronomist;" for if he was a man of the least reflection, he would see that to give the owner of a bondservant the right to bore the ear of the latter as a purely domestic ceremony, without the presence and cognizance of disinterested witnesses, would place the perpetual bondage of the servant entirely in the hands of an unscrupulous owner, and would thus practically nullify the law of release at the end of six years. The hole in the ear was the mark of perpetual bondage voluntarily assumed; and if the boring was done in private, though done without the bondman's consent, his subsequent denial that he had given his consent would be of no avail against the testimony of his master and members of his family whom he might suborn as witnesses. The Deuteronomist, whoever he was, was a friend of his people, and especially of the poor; and he was incapable of inventing such a law. The inference is

⁶ They follow Kuenen, who says: "The Hebrew slave who voluntarily entered into servitude for life, had to make his declaration to that effect in the sanctuary, in order to add to the solemnity of his act—Cap. xxi. 6" (*Rel. of Israel*, II. 83).

equally disparaging to the piety of the Deuteronomist; for it is admitted by the three gentlemen quoted above, and by all who style themselves "evangelical critics," that the law in Exodus was actually one of those given by Moses; and it is held that the Deuteronomist framed his laws after the model of those given by Moses: how, then, could he have deliberately deprived the Hebrew bondman of the safeguard prescribed by Moses, which protected him from being kept in perpetual bondage by an unscrupulous master? And even if the Deuteronomist was base enough to devise such a law, how can these critics account for the fact that it was accepted by the people in opposition to the law of Moses? These questions they have not attempted to answer, neither do they seem to have sufficiently reflected on their scheme to see that they could be propounded. The little boy who builds his first cob house seldom sees how easily it can be toppled over until some other boy tries it. "Modern scientific critics" ought to have more foresight.

The common-sense view of the omission in Deuteronomy is this: that Moses, having already given, for an obvious reason, the requirement that the bondman's free consent must be expressed in the presence of the judges, and that in their presence the hole should be bored in his ear as further proof that consent had been given, in repeating the law left out a part which no man who had once heard it, or heard of it, could ever forget. It looks like malice to claim here a contradiction between the two laws. It is a simple case of omission. The idea of going to a sanctuary is invented by these critics. If going to God, as they themselves testify, means going to the judges who execute God's law, then wherever the judges were they might go. But the law required that judges be appointed in every city (Deut. xvi. 18-20), and the judges in the master's own city would in this case be preferred as the most convenient witnesses in case of subsequent dispute. In actual experience bondmen were sometimes held unlawfully (Jer. xxxiv. 8-22). In passing, we may remark that Driver forgets himself while

speaking on this subject, and styles the ceremony as "nailing his ear to the door of his master's house" (184).

In the second place, it is affirmed that these two laws contradict each other in reference to the term of service of a Hebrew bondwoman. In Exodus it is said, "If a man sell his daughter to be a maidservant, she shall not go out as the menservants do" (xxi. 7). In Deuteronomy, after the direction about boring the ear of the manservant with an awl, it is said, "And also unto thy maidservant shalt thou do likewise" (xv. 17).

Driver comments on the apparent conflict as follows:

No doubt the true explanation of the variation is that the law of Deuteronomy springs from a more advanced stage of society than the law of Exodus; it thus regulated usage for an age in which the power of the father over his daughter was no longer so absolute as it had been in more primitive times, and places the two sexes on a position of equality (*Com.*, 182 f.).

It is quite certain that the law in Deuteronomy does put the man and the woman spoken of in a position of equality; but whether this conflicts with the law in Exodus depends entirely upon whether the same bondwoman is meant in both places. Undoubtedly the woman in Deuteronomy is one who, like the manservant mentioned in the same law, has the right to go out of bondage at the end of six years, but voluntarily consents to remain in possession of her master. As evidence of her consent, her ear is to be bored "likewise." But in Exodus a particular case is specified, that of a daughter sold by her father; and the context shows plainly that, whether originally intended or not, the daughter became the concubine of her master or his son. The statute on the subject, when quoted as Driver quotes it, is really misquoted, because only a small part is quoted, and a part which does not fairly represent the whole. It reads thus:

"And if a man sell his daughter to be a maidservant, she shall not go out as the menservants do. If she please not her master, who has espoused her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange people he shall have no power, seeing he hath dealt deceitfully with her. And if he espouse her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughters. If he take him another wife, her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage, shall

he not diminish. And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out for nothing, without money" (xxi. 7-11).

There are at least two very obvious reasons for these regulations respecting this kind of a bondwoman. First, the fact that the daughter would not go free at the end of six years would discourage the sale of daughters, and prompt a poor man, if he was compelled to part with one of his children, to sell a son instead of a daughter. Second, after she had lived with her master or one of his sons as a concubine for six years, it would be a hardship for her, whether with children or without children, to go out free and struggle for her own support. She would be in the condition of a divorced wife without alimony. While concubinage was tolerated, it would be almost inevitable that a young woman, living in a family for six years, and being of the same people, and perhaps more attractive than her master's wife or daughters, would be used as a concubine by some male member of the family; and consequently when her father sold her, he must have done so with this expectation in view, whether it was specified in the contract or not. The law recognized this fact, and treated the case accordingly. The law is so understood by Andrew Harper.⁷

If, now, we suppose, as the record represents, that this law was made at Mount Sinai, and that Moses, at the end of the forty years, delivered the speeches in Deuteronomy, that which he says about a bondwoman going out at the end of six years would necessarily be understood by his hearers as including only those bondwomen who had come into bondage in some other way than by being sold by their fathers. They would be already familiar with the fact that the latter class were to be bondwomen for life. It is true that if the latter was the only way in which a woman could be reduced to bondage, the later law would have to be understood as repealing the former; but the natural probability is that the sale of a daughter was a rarely exceptional case, and that the great majority of bond-

⁷ "The power which parents had over their children in Israel was extensive, though not much less so than that possessed, for example, by Roman parents. A father could sell his daughters to be espoused as subordinate wives—Ex. xxi. 7" (*Com.*, 83).

women were the wives of men who sold themselves and their families. In this case, he and his went out free at the beginning of the seventh year.

We may remark before leaving this subject, that the case of a wife given to a bondman in the time of his service, mentioned in the law of Exodus (xxi. 4), is undoubtedly one in which the woman given was a heathen bondwoman, who, with her children, was held in perpetual bondage, and was not released even in the jubile (Lev. xxv. 44-46). No other bondwoman was so under her master's control that he could thus give her to a bondman. His Hebrew neighbor's daughter, if he held one, could be given as a wife or concubine only to his own son, as we have just seen above.

The third provision of the law of bondage in which a conflict is claimed, is that concerning release in the year of jubile. Driver puts the charge of discrepancy in these words:

There is a third law of slavery in Lev. xxv. 39-46 (H and P). By this law (1) only foreigners are to be held by Israelites as slaves for life; (2) Hebrew slaves are to receive their liberty, not, as in Exodus and Deuteronomy, in the seventh year of servitude, but in the year of jubile (*Com.*, 185).

This is not a fair statement of the case; for if the law of release in the seventh year had been given already, as it claims to have been, the law that all in bondage when the year of jubile arrives must be released, would necessarily mean that all not previously released under the operation of the older law must then be released; and it is unfair to say that "Hebrew slaves are to receive their liberty, not, as in Exodus and Deuteronomy, in the seventh year." They were to receive their liberty in the seventh year, as a general rule; but, if any did not, they were to receive it in the jubile.

Driver further says:

The usual mode of harmonizing these discrepant provisions is by the assumption that the law in Leviticus is intended to provide that, if the jubile year arrives before a Hebrew slave's seventh year of service, he is to receive his liberty in it. But if this had been the true explanation of the discrepancy, a law so circumstantial as that in Leviticus would surely have contained some explicit reference to the earlier law, and the case in which it was intended to supersede it would have been distinctly stated (185).

If Professor Driver had written the law, perhaps it would have contained such a reference; but the method of Hebrew writers was less artificial than that of modern writers, and many things were left, as in the natural world, for discovery by the reader. But even if Driver had been the writer, he could not have made the reference on the ground on which he claims that the author of Leviticus should have made it—that the present law was “intended to supersede” the one in Exodus. According to the explanation which he combats, the law was intended, so far as six-year Hebrew bondmen were concerned, only to release those whom the previous law had failed to release. His only reply to the explanation would be a denial that any would thus fail to be released by the previous law. But this he could not say; for it is as plain as day that a law which released bondmen only after six years of service, would fail to release **before the jubile all who** had been reduced to bondage within less than five years previous. **The jubile** came every fiftieth year; so if a Hebrew was sold in the forty-fifth, or in any later up to the forty-ninth, he would have one or more years longer to serve when the fiftieth year began. That which Driver treats as an assumption, then, was an inevitable fact, and nothing but the blinding effect of a theory to be supported can account for his failure to see it.

But this usual explanation, though good so far as it goes, does not bring out all the truth. The jubile would find other Hebrews in bondage besides those who had not served out their six years. The man and the woman whose ears had been bored, if still alive, would be released, and, whether they were alive or dead, their children would be released. So also would all thieves who had not served out the time for which they had been sold; for if a thief, being unable to make the restitution required by the law, was sold for four years’ service at a time less than four years before the jubile, the jubile would release him for the remnant of his time; for the force of the law of jubile was to release every bondman and bondwoman of Hebrew blood, for whatever cause they had been reduced to bondage, and to restore every one to the landed inheritance of

his fathers. Rightly understood, then, there was only this difference between this law and the others, that the jubile released every one who had not been released by the force of the other two laws.

7. As to the Decalogue. That the Ten Commandments originated with Moses is firmly held by the conservative critics, though denied by the radicals.⁸ The reader may find in Andrew Harper's *Commentary* an eloquent and conclusive argument on this question, and also, in opposition to Wellhausen and Kuenen, a demonstrative proof that the religion of Israel in the beginning was not polytheistic, as they and other infidels affirm. But that these Ten Commandments were all given by Moses in the *form* which they now bear, is denied by even the conservatives; and the merits of this denial we are now to consider.

The controversy turns chiefly upon the reasons appended to the Fourth and Fifth Commandments, and upon certain variations of expression in the Tenth. It is held that in their original form all of them were without any reasons attached—that they read thus:

"Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image."

"Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy."

"Honour thy father and thy mother."

All the other words now connected with these are said to be later additions, some made by the author of Deuteronomy,

⁸ Kuenen says: "Some have gone so far as to throw doubt on the very existence of Moses; others have denied that we are entitled any longer to regard him as Israel's lawgiver. This latter assertion especially deserves serious consideration. It is quite certain that nearly all the laws of the Pentateuch date from much later times: if no difficulty was experienced in ascribing to him these more recent ordinances, what guarantee have we that he promulgated any one of the laws?" (*Rel. of Israel*, I. 272). "Even the 'ten words' have not come down to us unaltered, so that none of them can be attributed to Moses without further inquiry" (*ib.*, 139). "It need not be repeated here that Moses bequeathed no book of the law to the tribes of Israel. Certainly nothing more was committed to writing by him or in his time than the 'ten words' in their original form" (*ib.*, II. 7). Wellhausen says: "If the legislation of the Pentateuch ceases as a whole to be regarded as authentic for our knowledge of what Mosaism was, it becomes a somewhat precarious matter to make any exception in favor of the Decalogue" (Art. "Israel," *Encyc. Brit.*, Sec. 1).

and others by the supposed redactors of Exodus. The differences between the two forms of the Fourth, Fifth and Tenth, Driver presents by printing these three in parallel columns, which we here reproduce. The italics in the right-hand column show additions and changes made by the Deuteronomist:

EXODUS.

"Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is a sabbath unto Jehovah thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days Jehovah made heaven, and earth, and sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: therefore Jehovah blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it."

"Honor thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long in the land which Jehovah thy God is giving thee."

"Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, or his manservant, or his maidservant, or his ox, or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbor's."

DEUTERONOMY.

"Observe the sabbath day to keep it holy, as Jehovah thy God commanded thee. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work: but the seventh day is a sabbath unto Jehovah thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor *thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: in order that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and Jehovah thy God brought thee out thence by a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore Jehovah thy God commanded thee to keep the sabbath day.*"

"Honor thy father and thy mother, as Jehovah thy God commanded thee: that thy days may be long, and that it may be well with thee, upon the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee."

"And thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife; and thou shalt not desire thy neighbor's house, his field, or his manservant, or his maidservant, or his ox, or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbor's (*Int.*, 33 ff.)

On this exhibit Driver remarks: "The principal variations are in agreement with the style of Deuteronomy, and the author's hand is recognizable in them." Let this be granted, and what does it prove? If Moses was the author of both books, it proves only that his style in Deuteronomy is different from that in Exodus. In other words, it shows that in delivering an oration on laws that he had given, he adopted a style different from that in which he wrote the laws. And what writer of statute laws that ever lived would not do the same? Let a lawyer, in commenting on a deed written for his client, speak in the style in which deeds to real estate are commonly written, and how long would a jury listen to him? Or let a political orator, advocating a tariff bill, speak in the style of the bill, and how long would his party keep him on the stump? If another than Moses wrote Deuteronomy, he, of course, wrote naturally in a style different from that of Exodus; and if Moses wrote it, he, as a matter of course, purposely did the same. It is nonsense, then, to argue from the difference of

style that the two forms of these commandments were written by different authors.

As to the origin of the supposed additions to the original form of these three commandments, various conjectures have been advanced by critics, which would be worthy of consideration if there was any proof that additions have been made. Labor spent in the effort is like that of the French savants who labored hard to answer Ben Franklin's question, why a vessel entirely filled with water would not run over if a ten-pound fish were put into it. Driver, after mentioning some of these, decides that the more probable view is that "these clauses are in their original place in Exodus," and that the additions in Deuteronomy are "of the nature of further comments upon the text of Exodus." If he had added to this remark the supposition that those in Exodus were not additions at all, but that Moses wrote them, he would have displayed still better judgment.

If we examine more closely the added words and clauses in Deuteronomy, we shall find that they are such as would most naturally be made by Moses in repeating oratorically to the people laws which he had previously given, expanding some of them for the sake of making them more explicit, and adding here and there a motive to obedience. For instance, in the Fourth Commandment, where Exodus has "nor thy cattle," Deuteronomy has "nor thine ox, nor thine ass, nor any of thy cattle"—naming the ox and the ass, lest some one might suppose that they were not included in "cattle," and also putting emphasis on the sabbath rest for the two classes of animals which were most given to work. The motive presented for keeping the sabbath, that Jehovah had delivered them from servitude in Egypt, was an appeal to their sense of gratitude. It was not given as the reason why God had sanctified the seventh day, but as a reason why *Israel should observe it*: "therefore Jehovah thy God *commanded thee* to keep the sabbath day." The reason why God had *hallowed* the seventh day, because in creation he had rested on the seventh day, had been given in Exodus; and so far as it furnished a reason for

keeping the sabbath, it was a reason applicable to all men. Moses, without repeating that, gives Israel a special reason why they should keep it, whether others did or not; and the reason is, gratitude to God for giving them rest from the servitude in Egypt. It was easy for every one who heard him, and who had ever heard or read the original commandment, to see that at this point he was not quoting the commandment, but adding a motive for its observance.

The addition in the Fifth Commandment, "that it may be well with thee," is but an expansion of the preceding clause, "that thy days may be long." A man's days may be long, and yet full of misfortunes. They were to understand that on condition of keeping this commandment they would have length of days without misfortunes.

The variations in the Tenth Commandment are only a reversal of the order in which the neighbor's wife and his house are mentioned, which is insignificant, and the addition of "his field," which is included in the expression, "any thing which is thy neighbor's."

There is another consideration connected with these changes which has been entirely overlooked by our critics. Their seventh-century author of Deuteronomy did not, according to their own hypothesis, write in his own name, but in the name of Moses. He wrote what he supposed Moses would have said if he had really delivered the discourses which are ascribed to him. Evidently, then, he thought that it would have been proper for Moses to have spoken these additional words and clauses. In this he showed his good sense, and condemns the critics who created him.

There is another speculation of the critics which here deserves a passing notice. It has reference to the oxen and asses and fields mentioned in the Fourth and Tenth Commandments. It is stated by Andrew Harper in these words:

If the original form of these commandments was what we have indicated, they correspond entirely to the circumstances of the wilderness. There is no reference in them which presupposes any other social background than that of a people dwelling together according to families, possessing property, and worshiping Yahweh. None of

the commandments involves a social state different from that. But when Israel had entered upon its heritage, and had become possessed of the oxen and asses which were needed in agricultural labor and in settled life, this stage of their progress was reflected in the reasons and inducements which were added to the original commands. In the Fourth and Tenth Commandments in Exodus, we have, consequently, the essential commandments of the earlier day adapted to a new state of things; *i. e.*, to a settled agricultural life (*Com.*, 96).

It is difficult to treat such talk as this with seriousness. Mr. Harper knows very well that desert tribes, such as he supposes Israel to have been, are always owners of oxen and asses, except where they are extremely poor. It is notoriously true of the Bedawin tribes, who occupy the same wilderness at the present time. Indeed, their chief industry is the rearing of herds of cattle, asses and camels. Furthermore, how ridiculous it is to suppose that, even if Israel had not a hoof of such animals in the wilderness, Moses, in giving them laws for their future guidance, must omit the mention of animals which he knew they would have in the time for which he was legislating. If one of these critics should read the will of a rich man, in which he gives advice to his children with reference to the proper use of the possessions which he bequeaths to them, he would sagely conclude that the will must have been written after the children came into possession of the property. They certainly would if they had a theory to be upheld by "scientific criticism." Here, again, their supposed Deuteronomist shows better judgment than theirs; for he thought there was no incongruity in putting these words in the mouth of Moses in the wilderness.

Seeing now that all the added words and clauses of the Decalogue found in Deuteronomy are just such as Moses, repeating the commandments oratorically, could most properly employ, and seeing that, even if these speeches were composed in the seventh century, the author of them himself thought they were appropriate in the lips of Moses, the adverse critics are estopped by the judgment of their own Deuteronomist, as well as by the maxims of common sense, from urging that Moses could not have been the author of both forms.

8. As to Certain Acts of Moses at Mount Sinai. There are several alleged contradictions between the accounts in Exodus and Deuteronomy of certain acts of Moses while the camp was still at the foot of Mount Sinai. The first we shall mention has reference to his appointment of judges of tens, hundreds, thousands, to assist him in administering justice. The case is presented by Driver in these words:

In i. 9-13 the plan of appointing judges to assist Moses is represented as originating with Moses himself, complaining to the people of the difficulty that he found in dealing personally with the number of cases that arose; the people assent to the proposal, and Moses selects the judges accordingly. In Ex. xviii. 13-26 the plan is referred entirely to the advice of Jethro; no allusion is made to the difficulty felt by Moses; and Moses takes action without at all consulting the people (*Com.*, xxxv.).⁹

This passage opens with a misstatement. It is not said in i. 9-13 that the plan *originated* with Moses. If this had been said, there would have been a contradiction. The passage reads thus: "And I spake to you at that time, saying, I am not able to bear you myself alone; Jehovah your God hath multiplied you, and, behold, ye are this day like the stars of heaven for multitude. Jehovah, the God of your fathers, make you a thousand times so many as ye are, as he hath promised you. How can I myself alone bear your cumbrance, and your burden, and your strife?"—then comes the command to select the judges. Does this conflict with the statement in Exodus that Jethro had first suggested the plan to Moses before he submitted it to the people? If it does, then, should the President of the United States submit a measure to Congress, and should it afterward be discovered that it was suggested to him by one of his secretaries, our modern scientific critics would find here an irreconcilable inconsistency! The President, as everybody knows, is not bound to tell whether the measures which he proposes originated with himself or with some of his advisers;

⁹ Wellhausen, who denies that Moses made the stay at Mount Sinai described in Exodus, declares that Jethro's advice was given, not at Mount Sinai, but "at the well of Kadesh" (*Art. "Israel," Encyc. Brit.*, 407, col. 1; 408, col. 2). In saying this, he deliberately falsifies the history without the slightest provocation.

neither was Moses obliged to tell the people that his judiciary scheme originated with Jethro. As Jethro was not an Israelite, there may have been prudence in withholding from them this information until they themselves expressed approval of the measure.

The second conflict has reference to the number of times that Moses ascended the mount, and fasted:

According to Ex. xxxii. 34, Moses was three times in the mount (xxxii. 1 ff.; xxxii. 31; xxxiv. 4); but it is only on the third occasion that he is recorded to have fasted (xxxiv. 28). Deuteronomy (ix. 9), in the very words of Exodus, describes him as doing so on the *first* occasion (*ib.*, xxxvi.).

This is an incorrect representation; for the ascent described in Deuteronomy is the one on the return from which he broke the tables of stone (ix. 17); and this was the second ascent described in Exodus. The first was when he was called up before the Ten Commandments were spoken, and was sent down to warn the people not to draw near the mount (Ex. xix. 20-25). The second ascent described in Deuteronomy is the one his descent from which is described in Ex. xxxii. 7-9, almost in the words of Deuteronomy. The only difference as respects fasting is that it is mentioned in the one account and omitted in the other. It is absurd to call this a contradiction. Driver himself does not commit this absurdity; for he closes the paragraph just quoted in part, with the remark, "Obviously Deuteronomy may relate what is passed by in silence in Exodus; but the variation is remarkable." It is not at all remarkable, for if, when Moses delivered the speeches in Deuteronomy, Exodus had already been written, and the fact made known to the people that he fasted during the last forty days in the mount, there was great propriety in now telling them, what they had not learned before, that he also fasted during the first forty days. In reality, he was compelled to fast or be fed miraculously; for there was no food to be found on the naked rock of which Mount Sinai is composed. To charge contradiction here is to betray a careless study of the facts, mingled with a determined purpose to make out a case.

The third specification has reference to the point of time at which Moses made his intercession for the people:

Chap. ix. 25-29. This, it is plain, must refer either to Ex. xxxii. 31 ff. (Moses' second visit to the mountain), or (more probably) to Ex. xxxiv. 9, 28 (his *third* visit to it). It is singular, now that the terms of Moses' own intercession, as here reproduced, are borrowed, not from either of these passages, but from xxxii. 11-13, at the close of his first forty days upon the mountain (*ib.* xxxvi.).

Here, again, the learned author treats Ex. xxxii. 31 ff. as an account of Moses' second visit to the mountain, whereas it is an account of his intercession for the people between his second and his third visit. The words, "And Moses returned unto Jehovah, and said, Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold" (31), seem to have misled him to the thought that the return was to the mountain-top. But the context shows plainly that this intercession was conducted in the tent of Moses (*cf.* vii. 11), and the account of it is immediately followed by the statement that "Jehovah said to Moses, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first: and I will write upon the tables the words which I wrote on the first tables, which thou brakest. And be ready by the morning, and come up in the morning unto mount Sinai, and present thyself there to me on the top of the mount" (xxxiv. 1, 2). The account of the intercession given in Exodus follows immediately upon his return from the mount when he broke the tables of stone (xxxii. 19 ff.), and so it does in Deuteronomy (ix. 17 ff.). There is perfect agreement as to the occasion of it, and the objectors are again convicted of inventing the charge of contradiction, and misconstruing the text to sustain it.

The fourth and last specification we shall notice has reference to the time at which the ark was made for the reception of the two tables of stone. It is claimed that in Deuteronomy the ark was made by Moses just preceding his return to the mount with the two new tables of stone, whereas in Exodus it is made by Bezaleel after Moses returned from that visit. The author places the two passages side by side, and then remarks:

There is only one material difference between the two accounts but it is an important one. In Ex. xxxiv. 1-4 there is no mention of the *ark*, which, according to Deuteronomy, Moses made at this time for the reception of the two tables, and in which (verse 5) he placed them after coming down from the mount. This difference between Exodus and Deuteronomy does not admit of explanation. In Exodus instructions respecting the ark are given in xxv. 10-21; and Bezaleel, having been commissioned to execute the work of the sanctuary (xxxi. 1 ff.; xxxv. 30 to xxxvi. 1), makes the ark (xxxvii. 1-9). There is, of course, no difficulty in supposing that Moses may have been described as making himself what was in fact made, under his direction, by Bezaleel; but in Deuteronomy Moses is instructed to make, and actually does make, the ark of acacia wood *before* ascending the mount for the second time to receive the tables of stone; whereas in Exodus the command to make the ark is both given to Bezaleel and executed by him *after* Moses' return from the mountain (xxxv. 30 ff.; xxxvi. 2; xxxvii. 1).

We shall be helped to understand this matter by first drawing out in detail, and with careful reference to chronology, the account in Exodus. Observe, then, that the first command to make the ark was given to Moses during his first forty days in the mount, and he was told, "In the ark thou shalt put the testimony that I shall give thee" (xxiv. 18; xxv. 10, 21). This was before the first tables were given to him. At the end of that forty days he received the tables, started down the mountain, and, seeing the idolatry in the camp, threw them down and broke them (xxxi. 18; xxxii. 15-19). Then comes his intercession for the people in his own tent which he pitched outside the camp and called the "tent of meeting," and at the close of it he is commanded to hew two new tables of stone, and return into the mount, which he does (xxxiii. 7-23; xxxiv. 1-4). At the close of the second forty days he receives the new tables of stone, and brings them down in safety (xxxiv. 28, 29). Then, after calling upon the people for contributions of material and labor for the construction of the tabernacle, and receiving an abundance (xxxv. 1-29), he appoints Bezaleel and Aholiab chief constructors (30-35), and commands the former to make, among other articles, the ark of acacia wood (xxxvii. 1). On the first day of the second year after leaving Egypt, everything was completed, the tabernacle was erected, the tables were put into the ark, and the latter put in its place (xl. 17-21). This last act of put-

ting the tables of stone into the ark occurred about seven months after the last descent of Moses from the mount, and this descent occurred not less than fifty or sixty days after the first command to make the ark. Approximately, nine months passed between the first command to make the ark, and the final deposit of the tables within it: and the account of all runs through sixteen chapters of Exodus, here a little and there a little.

Now, the whole of this story is summarized in Deuteronomy in the space of five verses, and it reads as follows: "At that time Jehovah said to me, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up unto me into the mount, and make thee an ark of wood. And I will write on the tables the words that were on the first tables which thou brakest, and thou shalt put them in the ark. So I made an ark of acacia wood, and hewed two tables of stone like unto the first, and went up into the mount, having the two tables in mine hand. And he wrote on the two tables, according to the first writing, the ten commandments, which Jehovah spake to you out of the midst of the fire in the day of the assembly: and Jehovah gave them to me. And I turned and came down from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I had made; and there they be, as Jehovah commanded me" (x. 1-5).

Here it is very obvious that the order of time in which the various steps were taken, and which is so distinctly stated in Exodus, is not observed. The differences are correctly stated by Driver. Moreover, it must be admitted that if the two accounts were written independently of each other, and by different authors, there is a contradiction with reference to the time at which the ark was made. But how is it, if, instead of adopting this theory to start with, we start with the representation which Deuteronomy makes of itself? That is, that Moses, having proceeded, in ascending the mountain and afterward in making the ark as described in Exodus, and having written that book, he is now addressing an oration to the people who knew from memory what he had done, and had also read or heard the account of that doing? They

would, of course, see, even more readily than we do, that he now mentions some of the facts in the reverse order without meaning that they occurred in that order, but because it suited his purpose, and he could do so without misleading a single one of his hearers. It should be observed, too, that in his present statements of the steps taken he uses no adverb of time to show that they were taken in the order in which he mentions them. The passage, then, is perfectly free from contradictions, and was perfectly understood to be so by those who heard Moses. It is only when the critic has separated Moses from Deuteronomy that he can use this passage to justify the separation. In other words, he cuts the cord which binds the book to its author, and then proves that the author did not write the book by the fact that the cord has been cut. Again and again is this fallacy perpetrated.

9. As to the Mission of the Spies. It is persistently asserted by destructive critics that there are several contradictions in the accounts of this incident. Robertson Smith undertakes to show that the account in the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Numbers is made up of two contradictory stories blended together so awkwardly that they can be separated. He accordingly prints them in parallel columns, placing xiii. 21, 25, 26, 32, and xiv. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 26-35, 36-38, on the left hand, and xiii. 20, 22, 26, 27-29, 30, 31-33, and xiv. 1, 4, 11-25, 39-45, on the right. But neither column makes a complete story; and of that on the right he is constrained to admit, "It has lost its beginning and a few links at other points" (*O. T.*, 400 f.). This admission is strikingly true. The column is like a snake that has lost its head and a few sections of its body, and it has the appearance of the disjunct parts of an india-rubber snake made to frighten children. Later writers, such as Driver and Addis, though they follow Smith and his predecessors in asserting that there are contradictions, are not so incautious as to copy these disjointed fragments.

The alleged contradictions are three in number: First, that while in Numbers (xii. 1) God issues the command to send the spies, in Deuteronomy (i. 22, 23) the request to send them

comes from the people, and Moses consents to it, but nothing is said about God's command. Second, in Numbers (verse 21) the spies go as far north as "the entering in of Hamath," while in Deuteronomy (i. 23-25) they go only as far as Hebron. Third, when they return, one of the stories in Numbers represents Caleb alone as contending that Israel can take the land, and as being exempt from the sentence of death in the wilderness, while the other represents Joshua as taking part with Caleb.

To take the last of these allegations first, we remark that only after Robertson Smith has split up the narrative in Numbers into two disjointed pieces, and thrown what is said of Caleb into one and what is said of Joshua into the other, is the slightest shadow of a contradiction apparent. It is a contradiction of his own creation. The text of Numbers as it stands, while it speaks of Caleb alone at first as remonstrating with the people (xiii. 30), includes Joshua with him toward the close of the account (xiv. 6), and the same precisely is true of the account in Deuteronomy (i. 36, 38). So plain is this made in both accounts, that readers of the Bible the world over have understood that both of these men gave a true account of the land, and were both exempted from the sentence which was passed upon the rest of the people.

The first and second of these so-called contradictions are nothing more than cases of omission in the briefer of the two accounts. Nothing in the experience of the people addressed by Moses could have been more familiar than this piece of history; for it furnished the reason why, instead of entering the promised land within less than two years after they left Egypt, they had been kept out of it for more than thirty-eight years longer. It explained the deplorable fact that all the fathers and mothers of the persons addressed, to the number of more than a million, had perished in the wilderness. In referring to it, therefore, as a warning, Moses could with perfect propriety mention such parts of the story as suited his hortatory purpose, and omit all others, without the slightest appearance of ignoring them, much less of denying their

existence. He accordingly treats of the whole subject in the space of *twenty-four verses* (i. 22-46), whereas the original account in Numbers contains seventy-eight. He abbreviates by omitting many well-remembered incidents. He omits the names of the twelve spies and those of the tribes which they respectively represented (4-16); he omits the whole of the long list of directions which he gave them (17-20); he omits the season of the year in which they were sent (21); he omits the names of the giants whose people were found at Hebron (21, 22); he omits the number of days that were occupied in the journey (25); he omits the detailed account the spies gave of the location of the different tribes in the land (29); he omits the thrilling incidents of himself and Aaron falling on their faces before the people, of the urgent pleadings made by Caleb and Joshua, and the proposal of the people to stone these four men (xiv. 5-10); he omits his own long and earnest pleading with God against the latter's proposal to slay the whole multitude and raise up a people from Moses to inherit the land (11-21); he omits the greater part of the final sentence upon the rebels (28-35); and he omits the fact that the ten false spies died of a plague (36, 37). In the midst of such a multitude of omissions, why should it be thought strange that he omitted to state the whole distance that the spies journeyed, and the fact that God directed him to send them? To look the facts in the face is all that is necessary to see the impertinence and absurdity of the charge of contradiction. Driver himself, in the very act of presenting the first of these three charges, furnishes a satisfactory answer to it. He says:

Here (Deut. i. 22, 23) the mission of the spies is represented as due entirely to a suggestion made by the people; in Num. xiii. 1-3 it is referred to as a command received directly by Moses from Jehovah. No doubt the two representations are capable, in the abstract, of being harmonized: Moses, it might be supposed, approving personally of the purpose (Deut. i. 23), desired to know if it had Jehovah's sanction; and the command in Numbers (xiii. 1-3) is really the answer to his inquiry.

What could be more reasonable than this, especially as Moses was not in the habit of adopting measures that might

involve the lives of a dozen eminent men without God's approval? Seeing, then, that this obvious explanation is right at hand, so close that, had it been a serpent, it would have bitten Robertson Smith and his imitators, why did these ingenious men make out of it a contradiction? Why, unless they were on the search for contradictions when they should have been searching for the truth? They were fighting, not to defend the Bible, but to bring it into disrepute. So we are compelled to judge them in much of their work.

10. As to the Time Spent at Kadesh. It is universally assumed by destructive critics that the stay of Israel at Kadesh-Barnea is represented in Numbers as lasting thirty-eight years; while in Deuteronomy, contrary to this, they spent the thirty-eight years circling Mount Seir. Driver, in his *Commentary* (31-33), treats the subject elaborately; but the discrepancy as he understands it is sufficiently presented in the following sentence:

If the present narrative in Numbers be complete, the thirty-eight years in the wilderness will have been spent at Kadesh: nothing is said of the Israelites moving elsewhere; and the circuit round Edom (Num. xxi. 4) will have taken place at the close of this period, merely in order to enable the Israelites to reach the east side of Jordan. In this case the representation in Deut. ii. 1, 14, according to which the thirty-eight years of the wanderings are occupied entirely with circling about Mount Seir, will be irreconcilable with JE (that is, with Numbers).¹⁰

The only way to determine the reality of this alleged contradiction is to trace carefully the representations in the two books separately, and then compare them to see their differences, if any appear. We begin with that in Numbers. In xiv. 25, after the sentence has been pronounced on the men of that generation, God issues the command, "To-morrow turn ye, and get you into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea." Driver says of this, "Whether they did this, is not stated;" and it is true that it is not stated; but the command

¹⁰ In this he follows Wellhausen, who says: "After turning aside to Sinai as related in Exodus, the emigrants settled at Kadesh eastward from Goshen, on the southern borders of Palestine, where they remained for many years" (Art. "Israel," *Encyc. Brit.*, p. 407, col. 1).

was given, and Moses, who was the leader and commander of the host, always moved at God's command; and the pillar of cloud, which guided every movement, undoubtedly did the same. It is not necessary, then, that the text should say they did move. On the contrary, it would require a statement of the text that they did not move, to justify us in supposing that they did not. But this inference, plain as it is, is not our only ground for concluding that they obeyed the command. In later verses of the same chapter (32, 33) God says to the people: "Your carcasses shall fall in the wilderness. And your children shall be wanderers in the wilderness forty years, and shall bear your whoredoms, until your carcasses be consumed in the wilderness." How could they be "wanderers in the wilderness forty years" if they remained thirty-eight years at Kadesh? It is necessarily implied that they were to leave Kadesh and wander about.

The narrative next proceeds through chapters xv.-xix. of Numbers, with a group of new statutes (xv. 1-41); the account of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram (xvi. 40); the punishment of those who murmured over the fate of these men and their fellow conspirators (41-50); the confirmation of Aaron's priesthood (xvii. 1-13); some new statutes in reference to the priesthood and the Levites (xviii. 1-32); and the statute in reference to the ashes of the red heifer (xix. 1-22). Then comes the statement: "And the children of Israel, even the whole congregation, came into the wilderness of Zin in the first month; and the people abode in Kadesh; and Miriam died there, and was buried there" (xxi. 1). How could it be here said that after these intervening events "they came into the wilderness of Zin in the first month, and abode in Kadesh," if they had been in Kadesh during the whole intervening time? Undoubtedly this is a *return* to Kadesh; and the assertion that they "abode in Kadesh," grossly misinterpreted as referring to the whole thirty-eight years, clearly refers to the stay there *after this return*. The first month here mentioned, as all parties agree, is the first month of the fortieth year. We need not go outside the Book of

Numbers, then, the very book which is charged with teaching that Israel abode at Kadesh thirty-eight years, to see that by necessary implications it shows that they left Kadesh after the affair of the spies, wandered in the wilderness until all but the last of the forty years had expired, and then returned again to Kadesh.

This conclusion, drawn from the course of the events, is sustained by the evidence of the itinerary of the wilderness wanderings, also recorded in Numbers. In this itinerary (Num. xxxiii.) Kadesh is mentioned only once, it being the intention of the writer to name the forty-two places of formal encampment, without regard to the number of times that Israel may have encamped at any one place. When Kadesh is mentioned, it is, as we have seen, in connection with the arrival there in the first month of the fortieth year. But they reached that place, and sent forth the twelve spies at the time of the first ripe grapes in the second year out of Egypt (xiii. 20). Hazeroth is the last camping-place mentioned in the account of the journey before reaching Kadesh (xii. 16, cf. xiii. 26); but in the itinerary there are between Hazeroth and Kadesh *nineteen* encampments. This could not have been true of the first arrival in Kadesh; consequently we must conclude that these nineteen encampments were made between the first and the second arrival in that place, or during the wanderings of thirty-eight years, of which we know but little. Thus it appears, from every point of view furnished by the Book of Numbers, that this interval of thirty-eight years was not spent at Kadesh, but at encampments lying in between the first and the second visit to that place.

Now let us turn to Deuteronomy, and see if there is anything there to contradict this conclusion. Here, in ii. 14, Moses says to the people: "And the days in which we came from Kadesh-Barnea, until we came over the brook Zereah, were thirty and eight years; until all the generation of the men of war were consumed from the midst of the camp, as Jehovah swore unto them." The terms here employed show that he is counting from the time that Jehovah swore this; that is,

from the first visit to Kadesh. This is made equally clear by the fact that the places of encampment since the last visit to that place are named in Num. xxxiii. 38-44, and they are only five in number. The first of them, Mount Hor, was reached in the fifth month of the last year of the wanderings (xxxiii. 38), and the others were passed a little later in the same year. The "many days" that they spent in compassing Mount Seir (the land of Edom), which Driver understands as including the thirty-eight years, were spent after leaving Kadesh the last time; for Moses says: "So ye abode in Kadesh many days, according to the days that ye abode there. Then we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea, as Jehovah spake to me: and we compassed mount Seir many days" (Deut. i. 46-ii. 1). The circuit occupied many days compared with the small space around which they had to pass. The many days which they spent at Kadesh included the forty spent by the spies in their march through Canaan, together with some days previous, and some days after this march, and, during the last visit, the days of mourning for Miriam, probably thirty, and much the greater part of the time from the first month to the fifth, in which they reached Mount Hor (Num. xx. 1, 22).

This instance of alleged contradiction illustrates the ease with which an allegation of the kind can be made after a careless examination of the text in search of contradictions, and the success with which the charge can be refuted when the same text is examined with proper care.

11. As to the Time of Consecrating the Levites. The time of this event is stated in a general way in this passage: "And I turned and came down from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I had made; and there they be, as Jehovah commanded me. (And the children of Israel journeyed from Beeroth Bene-jaakan to Moserah: there Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead. From thence they journeyed to Judgodah; and from Judgodah to Jotbathah, a land of brooks of water. At that time Jehovah separated the

tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, to stand before Jehovah to minister to him, to bless in his name, unto this day)" (x. 5-8).

If one should read this passage without observing the fact that a parenthesis begins with the words, "And the children of Israel journeyed," and that there is a total disconnection between this and the next preceding thought, he might suppose that Moses here fixes the consecration of the Levites at a time subsequent to the death of Aaron, and of certain journeys that followed his death. But the parenthetical nature of the intervening clauses, together with the change of address from the second person (verse 4) to the third ("the children of Israel journeyed"), show plainly that we have here an interpolation by another than the original speaker. The reference in the words, "At that time Jehovah separated the tribe of Levi," is unquestionably to the time when he came down from the mount and put the tables in the ark, mentioned before the parenthesis; and this agrees with the account in Exodus. On this passage Driver makes these remarks:

If x. 6, 7 be an integral part of Deuteronomy, "at that time" can in that case only refer to the period indicated in those verses, and verses 8 and 9 will assign the consecration of the tribe of Levi to a much later date than is done in Ex. xxviii. 29; Lev. viii.; Num. iii 5-10. If, however, verses 6 and 7 be not original in Deuteronomy, "at that time" will refer to the period of sojourn at Horeb (i. 5); in this case there ceases to be a contradiction with Exodus.

He might as well have saved himself the trouble of writing this, for he answers his own objection in the very act of presenting it. This "if" introduces the reality in the case.

12. As to the Sentence on Moses and Aaron. In connection with his recital of the sentence pronounced on the people of Israel after the report of the spies, Moses says: "Also Jehovah was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou shalt not go in thither. Joshua the son of Nun, who standeth before thee, he shall go in thither: encourage thou him; for he shall cause Israel to inherit it" (Deut. i. 37, 38). On these verses Driver makes the comment:

Neither the position of these two verses, nor their contents, can be properly explained unless they are held to refer to some incident

which took place immediately after the return of the spies. If that be the case, they will present another (cf. verse 36) of the many examples which the Pentateuch contains of a double tradition: according to Deuteronomy, Moses was forbidden to enter Canaan in consequence of the people's disobedience at Kadesh in the second year of the Exodus: according to P (Num. xx. 12; xxvii. 13 f.; Deut. xxxii. 50 f.), it was on account of his presumption at the same spot, but on a different occasion, thirty-seven years afterward (*Com.*, 26, 27).

There would be plausibility in this representation if nothing more were said on the subject in Deuteronomy, and if both accounts were derived, as Driver assumes, from oral tradition, one running for seven hundred years, and the other for one thousand. In that case neither would be worth the paper on which it is printed. But in the last passage which he himself cites parenthetically (Deut. xxxii. 50 f.), the same account of God's anger against Moses is given as in Numbers. There it is declared that God said to Moses, "Get thee up into this mountain of Abarim, unto mount Nebo . . . and die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be gathered to thy people; as Aaron thy brother died at mount Hor, and was gathered unto his people; because ye transgressed against me in the midst of the children of Israel at the waters of Meribah of Kadesh, in the wilderness of Zin; because ye sanctified me not in the midst of the children of Israel." This is the testimony of Deuteronomy when, instead of a mere allusion, as in i. 36, 37, a full account is given. There is, then, not a shadow of inconsistency between the two books. But the destructive critics refuse to let the matter rest thus. In order to still make out a contradiction, which is impossible with the text as it is, they resort to the device of robbing the Deuteronomist of this latter passage, and assign it to P, the hypothetical author of the account in Numbers. This is their constant device when the text as it is can not be harmonized with the theory to be sustained.

We must here insist again, as in all of these alleged contradictions, that the only way to ascertain whether they are real, is to try them on the ground on which they claim to stand. This portion of Deuteronomy claims to be a speech delivered by Moses to the Israelites near the close of their wanderings,

when the last of the scenes at Kadesh was less than a year in the past, and the earliest of them a little over thirty-seven years, while both were as distinctly remembered by every middle-aged man and woman in the audience as was the battle of Bunker Hill by the American people forty years after it was fought. To such an audience many allusions to those events which might be puzzling to one who was not familiar with details, would be perfectly intelligible. If, then, as Deuteronomy represents, and as Numbers represents, the anger of God against Moses and Aaron was because of the sin at Meribah, when he mentioned it in connection with the sin of the people after the report of the spies, they could not have thought that he meant to connect it in point of *time* with the latter event. They would know that he mentioned it in that connection because of the similarity of his fate with theirs—a most natural connection of thought. And when he said, "God was angry with me on your account," they could not think that he meant on account of their rebellion when the spies reported, because they well knew that Moses had done his very best to dissuade them from that sin, even risking his own life at their hands in the effort. They would remember that it was their murmuring for want of water which caused Moses to act as he did, and that thus indirectly God was angry with him on their account. How smoothly the stream of narration flows when it is thus permitted to follow its own channel; and how discordant when divided and led into ditches dug by its enemies.

13. As to the Asylum for the Manslayer. Driver says:

In Ex. xxi. 13 the asylum for manslaughter (as the connection with verse 14 seems to show) is Jehovah's altar (cf. I. Kings i. 50; ii. 28); in Deuteronomy (c. 19) definite cities are set apart for the purpose (*Com.*, 37).

To the same effect Robertson Smith says:

The asylum for the manslayer in Ex. xxi. 12-14 is Jehovah's altar, and so, in fact, the altar was used in the time of David and Solomon. But under the law of Deuteronomy, there are to be three fixed cities of refuge—Deut. xix. 1, *seq.* (*O. T.*, 354).

The issue here turns on the correctness of the first assertion in these two statements. Is it true that the law in Exodus

made the altar of Jehovah a sanctuary for the manslayer? It reads thus: "He that smiteth a man so that he die, he shall surely be put to death. And if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. And if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbor, to slay him with guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die."

This law, instead of making the altar an asylum for the manslayer, positively forbids its use as such. It is to furnish no protection, not even temporary protection, from death. On the contrary, this statute contains the promise, "I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee." This promise was fulfilled in the appointment of the cities of refuge, and it was provided that every man who killed his neighbor might find asylum there until the time of his trial, and might remain there after his trial if he was found not worthy of death (Deut. xix. 1-13). The cases referred to by both of these writers as occurring in the time of David and Solomon are those of Adonijah and Joab. But both of these, though they fled to the altar in the hope of being spared, were slain; and Joab was slain by the command of Solomon while clinging to the horns of the altar (I. Kings i. 50, 51; ii. 24, 25, 29-34). This is a unique way of proving that the altar was an asylum for the manslayer—instances in which it furnished no protection whatever. If it should be asked why Joab fled to the altar, if it was not an asylum, the answer must be, not that it was an asylum—for Solomon did not recognize it as such—but because he thought that possibly he might not be slain there, lest human blood might defile the altar.

In this instance a provision of the law has been misrepresented and its meaning reversed, in order to make out a contradiction with another arrangement which it actually provided for in promise. Scarcely anything could be more reprehensible.

But there is still another phase to this reprehensible use of Scripture. If God made a law by the hand of Moses, as these men would have us believe, that his altar should be an

asylum for the willful murderer; and if this law was recognized as his by such rulers as David and Solomon, how can it be accounted for that an unknown author in the days of Josiah deliberately legislated to the reverse of this law, and that the people of Judah accepted the innovation without a word? Again: If, down to the time of this new legislation, the altar of Jehovah had been the asylum for the manslayer, how is it that this new and unknown legislator made the people believe that in all their past history back to Moses there had been cities of refuge into which the murderer could flee for temporary asylum? Were the Israelites of Josiah's day, including Josiah himself, a set of idiots, or have the critics who argue as Driver and Robertson Smith do, lost their heads?

14. As to the Year of Release:

It is not claimed that there is a positive contradiction between Exodus and Deuteronomy on this subject, but doubt is thrown on the origin of the latter by the remark that "had both laws been framed by Moses, it is difficult not to think that in formulating Deut. xv. 1-6 he would have made some allusion to the law of Ex xxiii. 10 f., and mentioned that, in addition to the provisions there laid down, the sabbatical year was to receive this new application" (*Com.*, 38, cf. 174 ff.).

We can best judge of this by copying the two laws, and seeing them together. The law in Exodus is this: "And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the increase thereof; but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie fallow; that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave, the beasts of the field may eat. In like manner shalt thou deal with thy vineyard and thy oliveyard."

The law in Deuteronomy reads thus: "At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release. And this is the manner of the release: every creditor shall release that which he hath lent unto his neighbors; he shall not exact it of his neighbor and his brother; because Jehovah's release hath been proclaimed. Of a foreigner thou mayest exact it; but whatsoever of thine is with thy brother thine hand shall release."

It is true, as Driver observes, that in formulating this latter law there is no allusion made to the former; but why should there be? The two provisions are perfectly indepen-

dent of each other, so that neither would necessarily suggest the other. And if, as Driver affirms, it is difficult not to think that Moses, in formulating the latter, would have made some allusion to the former, why is it not equally difficult, and even more so, if some *other* man, seven hundred years later than Moses, had been the writer? If the former consideration argues that Moses was not the author, it argues with greater force that a man in the days of Josiah was not the author, and it is equally good to prove that *nobody at all* was the author.¹¹

Finally, if Moses did not give this law of release from debt, but did give the law of rest for the land, and if the latter law had been the recognized law of the seventh year ever since the time of Moses, how could any man, in the seventh century after Moses, dare to write that Moses also gave the law of release from *debt*—a law of which no human being had heard until that day? Who could believe him? And who could be expected to obey this pretended law by releasing his creditors from paying just debts? The enactment would be too absurd for any but a lunatic.

15. As to Eating Firstlings. One of the most plausible in the whole list of the alleged contradictions has reference to the eating of the firstlings of the flocks and herds, and of the tithes. The charge is compactly stated by Driver in these words:

In Deut. xii. 6, 17, the firstlings of oxen and sheep are to be *eaten by the owner himself* at a sacred feast to be held at the central sanctuary. In Num. xviii. 18, they are assigned absolutely and expressly to the *priest* (Com., xxxix.).

¹¹ In regard to the year of rest for the land, Kuenen says: "The Pentateuch itself testifies that this precept was not observed before the exile" (*Rel. of Israel*, II. 36). He cites, in proof of the assertion, Lev. xxvi. 34, 35, 43; and compares II. Chron. xxxvi. 21. But the passage in Leviticus is a prediction that God will scatter Israel among the nations on account of their iniquities, and that then the land should enjoy its sabbaths which it had not enjoyed while they dwelt in it; and the one in II. Chronicles that the years of exile were fixed at seventy by Jeremiah, "Until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths: for as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years." Now, the number of sabbatical years which had passed since the occupation of Canaan was about 120; from which it seems that fifty of the sabbatical years had been observed.

In this case neither of the provisions is accredited by our critics to Moses. The one in Numbers is ascribed to P, who wrote, according to the theory, about two hundred years after Deuteronomy was published. But Deuteronomy, from the time of its publication, was acknowledged by the Jews as God's law given by Moses. If, then, during these two hundred years, it had been the practice in Israel, according to the express letter of God's supposed law, for every man to eat his own firstling oxen and sheep, how did P dare to publish a new law requiring the owner to give up his God-given right in this particular, and turn over his firstlings to the priest? Moreover, P wrote, not in his own name, but in the name of Moses, claiming, equally with the author of Deuteronomy, that his laws were given by Moses; how, then, could he dare to thus represent Moses as contradicting himself, and how could he hope that anybody would receive his new law? How, indeed, can the critic account for the fact that Israel did receive both of these contradictory laws as having been given by Jehovah through Moses? No answer has been given to these questions; and none can be given that will relieve the theory of practical absurdity.

On the other hand, if the law in Numbers was written by Moses, and not by the hypothetical P, and if it had been the law, from the days of Moses to the days of Josiah, that the priest should have the flesh of the firstlings, how could the writer of Deuteronomy dare to say that it had also been the law, ever since Moses lived, that the firstlings were to be eaten by the owner and his family? He would have betrayed himself and his book of law as a fraud, had he done so. These considerations necessarily raise a doubt whether the alleged contradiction really exists; and they force us to be very slow in admitting that it does. They suggest that possibly the exegesis which supports the charge of contradiction may be erroneous.

To test this suggestion, let us now examine the several passages with care. The one in Numbers is unambiguous, and it does, as Driver affirms, give the firstlings to the priest.

Addressing Aaron, Jehovah says: "But the firstling of an ox, or the firstling of a sheep, or the firstling of a goat, thou shalt not redeem; they are holy: thou shalt sprinkle their blood upon the altar, and shalt burn their fat for an offering made by fire, for a sweet savour unto Jehovah. And the flesh of them shall be thine, as the wave breast and the right thigh; it shall be thine" (xviii. 17, 18).

The first of the three passages in Deuteronomy reads thus: "And thither shall ye bring your burnt offerings, and your tithes, and the heave-offerings of your hand, and your vows, and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herd and your flock, and there shall ye eat before Jehovah your God, and ye shall rejoice in all that ye put your hand unto, ye and your households, wherein Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee" (xii. 6, 7). Here they are told to eat, but they are not told which they shall eat of the various offerings mentioned. We know, however, from other legislation, that they were not to eat of the burnt offerings, which were totally consumed on the altar. They were not to eat of the heave-offering, which was to be consumed by the priest and his family; and, if the law in Numbers had been already given, they were not to eat of the firstlings. But other legislation gave them the right to eat of the tithes, of the freewill offerings, and of the offerings in fulfillment of vows. When, then, they were told to bring all these offerings to the place that God would choose, and to eat there, they were necessarily restricted in their eating to these three classes of offerings, the others having been forbidden. There is no authority here for eating of the firstlings.

The second passage is the seventeenth verse of the same chapter. Having directed the people in the sixth verse to take all their offerings, of every kind, to the place which God would appoint, he here repeats, in reference to some of them, the same instruction in a negative form. He says: "Thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn, or of thy vine, or of thine oil, or the firstlings of thy herd or thy flock, nor any of the vows which thou vowest, nor thy freewill offerings,

nor the heave-offering of thy hand: but thou shalt eat them before Jehovah thy God in the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose," etc. These are the offerings which they would be most tempted to partake of at their homes; and this accounts for the repetition. It seems from this that, while not commanded to eat of the firstlings, they were permitted to do so. The case, then, is like that of the tithes, which though given to the Levites, the giver was permitted to have one feast from them with the Levites, at the time of delivering them to the latter. This provision is not contradictory to the one that gave the firstlings to the priests, but an addition to it by which the offerer was permitted to have one feast with the priests who received them. In this case also, as in that of the tithes, the firstlings would furnish a much greater quantity of flesh than the man and his family could consume if they alone ate of it. If the offerer, for instance, had one hundred sheep and twenty cows, he would be likely to have born every year twenty or more male lambs that would be the firstborn of their mothers, and a half-dozen calves that were the firstborn of his heifers. If his flocks and herds were numerous, he would be certain to have many more than these. His family and a half-dozen priests could make a bountiful repast on one lamb and one calf, and the rest would be a very liberal perquisite for the priests.

In the third passage cited (xv. 19) the firstlings are mentioned again for the special purpose of forbidding the owner to make any profit from them of any kind: "All the firstling males that are born of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt sanctify unto Jehovah thy God: thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thine ox, nor shear the firstling of thy flock. Thou shalt eat it before Jehovah thy God year by year in the place which Jehovah shall choose, thou and thy household." Here the eating must be understood as in the passage last cited.

Before dismissing this objection, it may be well to remark that if a critic, before considering the passages involved, had already reached the settled conclusion that Deuteronomy was

written first, and the Book of Numbers two centuries later, that both were written by uninspired men, and that the later writer was not at all concerned whether his record should agree or not with the older document, he would almost necessarily see a conflict between these provisions about the firstlings. On the other hand, if the critic accepts the account which these books give of their own origin and mutual relations, and therefore sees in Numbers the earlier legislation, and in Deuteronomy an oratorical representation of the same, he would need only to exercise a moderate degree of common sense to see that there is no contradiction between them. The destructive critics have been blinded to obvious truths by having first accepted a false and destructive theory as to the origin of the several books.

16. As to a Fragment of the Wilderness Itinerary. The last of the so-called contradictions between Deuteronomy and the middle books of the Pentateuch which appears worthy of notice is that between a fragment of itinerary in Deut. x. 6, 7, and the corresponding place in the full itinerary of Num. xxxiii. It is enough to say of this, that although Driver in his *Commentary* devotes two and a half pages to an attempt to make something out of it prejudicial to the history (118-121), he finally unites with Wellhausen, Reuss, Cornill and Dillman in the conclusion that the passage in Deuteronomy on which the objection is based is an interpolation. He says: "All things considered, it seems, however, likely that x. 6, 7 is not a part of the original text of Deuteronomy; if this be the case, Deuteronomy will be relieved of the contradiction with Num. xxxiii. 31-33, though the contradiction will still attach to the source from which the notice is derived, and bear witness to the existence of divergent traditions in our present Pentateuch" (xxxvi.; cf. 118, 121). The correctness of this judgment can be verified by any intelligent reader if he will read verses 6-9, marked as a parenthesis in our English version, in connection with the verse preceding and that following. He will see that the parenthesis makes a break in the connection of thought and in the chronology, which renders it incredible

that it was uttered by Moses. When such unbelievers as Wellhausen, Reuss and Cornill had admitted this, it is very strange that Driver, who claims to be an evangelical critic, while also admitting it, should make a show of argument on the passage contrary to his own admission. And stranger still is his closing remark in the extract just made from him, that "the contradiction will still attach to the source from which the notice is derived, and bear witness to the existence of divergent traditions in our present Pentateuch." Suppose that the contradiction does attach to the source of the interpolated passage; does this have any bearing on the authorship of the book? Driver knows that it does not. And why say that a false statement interpolated in the book "bears witness to the existence of divergent traditions in our present Pentateuch," when, according to his own admission, it bears witness only to the existence of one or more interpolations so bunglingly made as to be promptly recognized as such? It is difficult to believe that the remark has any other aim than to leave the mind of the reader impressed unfavorably toward the real Deuteronomy. It is a Parthian arrow, shot backward in the retreat from an attack which the warrior is not willing to acknowledge as a failure.

All the alleged contradictions on which the destructive theory of Deuteronomy is based, at least all on which a final decision depends, have now passed in review before the reader. All have been expressed in the words of one or more of the ablest advocates of that theory, and in not a single instance has the allegation been sustained. In every instance it has appeared that fair dealing with the text, competent knowledge of its details, and the exercise of sound common sense, relieve it from all inconsistency with the books which precede it in our printed Bibles, and which have always preceded it in the Hebrew manuscript copies. Nothing has been found to show that Moses could not have been the author of all of them. Such we believe will be the verdict of every person of unprejudiced mind, who will studiously read what has been said of these sixteen specifications.

§6. INTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE LATE DATE.

1. From the Expression, "Beyond Jordan." The first verse of the Book of Deuteronomy corresponds to the modern title-page of a book. It reads: "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah over against Suph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab." It announces the authorship of what follows, and represents it as having been delivered orally; and it fixes with precision the locality in which the speaking was done. It was done "beyond Jordan," "in the wilderness," "in the Arabah," the Hebrew name for the Jordan valley; and "between" certain places then well known, but now unknown. In the fifth verse, which is more immediately introductory to the speech that follows, the locality is again fixed by the remark, "Beyond Jordan in the land of Moab began Moses to declare this law." These remarks are held by the adverse critics as equivalent to an assertion that Moses did not write the book. Moses is definitely located "in the land of Moab," which was certainly east of the Jordan, and as the author styles this "beyond Jordan," he locates himself west of the Jordan, and thereby distinguishes himself from Moses, seeing that Moses never crossed the river. Not only so, but no Israelite crossed the river till after the death of Moses, consequently no Israelite wrote the book while Moses was living. It must have been written after the death of Moses, and how long after is to be determined by other sources of information. Professor Driver expresses the argument in the following form:

The use of the phrase "beyond Jordan" for the country east of Jordan, in Deut. i. 1; v. 3-8; iv. 41, 46, 47, 49 (as elsewhere in the Pentateuch: comp. Num. xxii. 1; xxxiv. 15), exactly as in Josh. ii. 10; vii. 7; ix. 10, etc.; Judg. v. 17; x. 8, shows that the author was a resident of western Palestine (*Int.*, xlii. f.).

It is true that in these selected passages the phrase is used for the country east of the Jordan; but the professor has made a selection to suit his argument, and as an exhibition of the meaning of the original phrase it is misleading. A com-

plete induction would have showed that it is used for *both* sides of the Jordan. In Deut. xi. 30 Moses says of the mountains Gerizim and Ebal: "Are they not 'beyond Jordan' by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites?" In Numbers, while the phrase is used in xxii. 1 and xxxiv. 15 for the country east of the river, as stated by Driver, it is used in xxxii. 19 for that west of the river; for the two and a half tribes say: "We will not inherit with them beyond Jordan, or forward; because our inheritance is fallen to us on this side Jordan eastward."

Again, while the passages cited by Driver from Joshua and Judges are correctly represented, there are others in the same books which have the opposite reference. For example, in Josh. v. 1 and ix. 1 the tribes and kings in western Palestine are said to be "beyond Jordan," and in Judg. vii. 25 the heads of Oreb and Zeeb are brought to Gideon "beyond Jordan" while Gideon was yet on the western side of the river (comp. viii. 4).

But the decisive fact is, that the phrase in question is frequently used for the side of the river on which the speaker or writer stood, and that therefore the original preposition did not have the meaning and force of our English word "beyond." The first example is in Num. xxxii. 19, already quoted. The two and a half tribes say: "We will not inherit with them 'beyond Jordan' forward; because our inheritance is fallen to us 'beyond Jordan' eastward." Here "beyond" in the latter clause represents the same preposition (*eber*) in the original as in the former clause, and it should be translated by the same word in English. Of the translation we shall have something to say further on. Each side of the river is here called "beyond Jordan," and the two are distinguished by adding "forward" to one, and "eastward" to the other. In Deut. iii. 8 Moses, standing east of the Jordan, says: "We took at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites the land that was 'beyond Jordan' from the river of Arnon unto mount Hermon;" but the land was on the same side with the speaker. The Book of Joshua was

certainly written west of the Jordan, yet the writer, in his two remarks already quoted (v. 1; ix. 1), speaks of the tribes of Canaan and the kings of Canaan as being "beyond Jordan." The same is true of the author of Judges, who speaks of Gideon as being "beyond Jordan," when he was on the same side with the writer (viii. 4). This usage continues even into the latest books of the Old Testament. In II. Kings iv. 24 Solomon is said to have dominion over all the region "beyond the river," though all were on the same side of the river with the writer. In Ezra viii. 36 the writer speaks of "the governors beyond the river," meaning those on the same side with himself; and in I. Chron. xxvi. 30 the writer, who was undoubtedly in Palestine, speaks of men who were "beyond Jordan westward." These examples demonstrate that the Hebrew preposition (*eber*) translated "beyond," does not, by its own force, locate its object on the opposite side from him who uses it. They demonstrate that the opening words of Deuteronomy, "These be the words which Moses spake to all Israel beyond Jordan in the wilderness," may have been written by Moses as certainly as by any other writer, and that the argument based upon them is worthless.

Andrew Harper's presentation of the argument under discussion has some marks of originality, and it must not be passed by. He says:

Wherever the expression "beyond Jordan" is used in the portions where the author speaks for himself, it signifies the land of Moab (cf. Deut. i. 1, 5; iv. 41, 46, 47, 49). Wherever, on the contrary, Moses is introduced speaking in the first person, "beyond Jordan" denotes the land of Israel (iii. 20, 25; xi. 30). The only exception is iii. 8, where, at the beginning of a long archæological note, which can not originally have formed part of the speech of Moses, and consequently must be a comment of the writer, or of a later editor of Deuteronomy, "beyond Jordan" signifies the land of Moab. If, consequently, the book be taken at its word, there can be no doubt that it professes to be an account of what Moses did in the land of Moab, before his death, written by another person who lived west of the Jordan (*Com.*, 4, 5).

Notwithstanding the extreme confidence with which Mr. Harper here speaks, claiming that there is no doubt of his conclusion, the premises from which he argues are baseless assumptions; for we have already seen that the expression "be-

yond Jordan" does not by its own force locate either the speaker or the person spoken of, and so his first set of references are void of the significance which he attaches to them; and as to the use of the phrase in iii. 8, this verse is not the beginning of the archæological note which he rightly regards as a comment by a later hand. This note, as any one can see at a glance, begins not at verse 8, but at verse 11.

Professor Driver, though not so positive in his tone as Mr. Harper, is very persistent in maintaining the force of this phrase in the opening verses of Deuteronomy; and well he might be, for on it, and it alone, depends the constant assertion of his class of critics that this book does not profess to have come from the hand of Moses. He says on the same page quoted above:

Its employment by a writer, whether in East or West Palestine of the side on which he himself stood, is difficult to understand, unless the habit had arisen of viewing the regions on the two sides of Jordan as contrasted with each other, and this of itself implies residence in Palestine (*Com.*, xliii.).

Here the professor betrays the fact, which he nowhere else openly sets forth, that the phrase is used of the side on which the writer stood; and this fact, I must insist again, nullifies completely the argument that is based on the expression. But, passing from this point in the extract, how does the fact that the habit of viewing the regions on the two sides of Jordan as contrasted with each other, imply residence in Palestine? Does a man have to reside in a country in order to view the regions on the two sides of a river in that country as contrasted with each other? Does a man have to reside in the United States in order to view the two regions on the two sides of the Mississippi as contrasted with each other? Does not every man who has ever seen a river, know that it has two sides, and that the two sides are contrasted with each other, so that if one is the west side, the other is the east, or if one is the northern, the other is the southern? And did not the Israelites, from the time they first heard of the Jordan, know this much about it? And when at last they were encamped on one side of it, close to its bank, where Moses is said to have spoken the contents of this

Book of Deuteronomy, could they not see the contrast between this and the other side which was their promised land? To ask these questions is to answer them, and to show that in making this argument the learned professor did not see an inch before his face.

The confusion apparent in these arguments of the critics has arisen from an improper use of the English preposition "beyond." It is impossible that a Hebrew preposition whose object is sometimes located on the same side of the river with the person who uses it, can be uniformly translated "beyond." Yet this is what the revisers of our English version have attempted. They attempted it, but were compelled in a few instances to vary their rendering in order to avoid misstating the facts. For example, in I. Kings iv. 24, where it is said of Solomon that "he had dominion over all the region on this side of the river, from Tiphseh to Gaza, even over all the kings on this side the river," had they rendered the word "beyond" instead of "on this side," in both clauses, they would have had Solomon reigning over the region and the kings *north* of the Euphrates. Again, had they clung to their chosen rendering in Num. xxxii. 19, they would have made the Reubenites say, "We will not inherit with them beyond Jordan forward; because our inheritance is fallen to us beyond Jordan eastward;" thus locating the speakers on both sides of the river at one time. Yet again, in I. Sam. xiv. 4, where the writer speaks of the two crags that were between the camp of Saul and that of the Philistines, they would have said, "There was a rocky crag beyond, and a rocky crag beyond," instead of saying, "on this side" and "on the other side." In all of these instances they were compelled to follow the version which they were revising.

The revisers have in some instances, where they adhere to the rendering "beyond," committed the very mistake which in the three last cited they avoided by following the old version. For example, they make Moses say in Deut. iii. 8, "We took at that time out of the hands of the two kings of the Amorites the land that was beyond Jordan from the river Arnon to mount

Hermion," though the land mentioned was not beyond Jordan, but on the same side with Moses. They make Joshua say to the two and a half tribes before they crossed the river, "Your wives, your little ones and your cattle shall remain in the land which Moses gave you beyond Jordan," when it was not beyond, but on the same side of the river with themselves; and they make the author of the Book of Joshua, who unquestionably wrote in the country west of the river, speak of "all the kings which were *beyond* Jordan westward." They were not beyond Jordan, but on the same side with himself.

King James' translators recognized the ambiguity of this Hebrew preposition, and wisely attempted no uniformity in its rendering. They ascertained as best they could from the context, the only source of information in case of ambiguous words, on which side of the river the speaker or writer stood, and translated accordingly. They render it *on this side*, *on the other side*, or *beyond*, as the context requires, and in no instance have they made their renderings contradict the facts. The critics could have learned from the very translation which some of them helped to revise, if not from their own knowledge of Hebrew, that they were committing an error. This translation has the opening sentence of Deuteronomy rendered, "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan in the wilderness" (verse 1), and, "On this side Jordan in the land of Moab" (verse 5); and thus it locates the writer of the book on the same side of the river with Moses. This is certainly correct if either Moses or one of his contemporaries wrote this preface. It is only after reaching the conclusion in some other way that some one west of the river wrote it, that any scholar could think of rendering the preposition "beyond." As this rendering was suggested by this preconception, it can not furnish evidence that the preconception is correct. One might as well attempt to make the roof of the house support the foundation. The argument, then, by which critics attempt to make the Book of Deuteronomy claim for itself an author who lived west of the Jordan and after the death of Moses, is a fallacy unworthy of modern scholarship.

2. Passages Implying Dates Long After the Events. Professor Driver says:

There are passages in Deuteronomy showing that the author lived at a distance from the period which he describes. Thus, if i. 3 (eleventh month) be compared with Num. xxxiii. 38 (fifth month), which fixes the date of Num. xx. 22-28, it appears that the whole of the events reviewed in ii. 2 to iii. 29 had taken place during the six months preceding the time when, if Moses be the author, the discourse must have been delivered. In such a situation, however, the repeated "*at that time*" (ii. 34; iii. 4, 8, 12, 18, 21, 23), as also "*unto this day*" in iii. 14, though suitable when a longer period had elapsed, appears inappropriate. Chaps. v. 3 and xi. 2-7 point in the same direction (*Com.*, xliii.).

In this argument the expression "at that time" is pressed into a service which is contrary to its nature. It does not, and it can not, of itself, show that the interval which it implies is either a long one or a short one. The interval, whether long or short, is to be ascertained from the context, and not from this expression. I may say, Yesterday at sunset the sky was clear, and no one at that time expected foul weather to-day; or I may say, Just one year ago to-day our country was engaged in war, and at that time no one expected the peaceful times that we now enjoy. Admiral Dewey might have said in his report of the battle of Manila, I entered the bay at night, and at that time I knew not at what moment my ship might be blown up by hidden torpedoes. Thousands of instances of such use of the expression might be adduced. Why should it be thought, then, that this expression, when used by Moses, or when put into his mouth by another, must mean a longer period than six months in the past? In the passages cited, Moses says, or is made to say, of Sihon: "We smote him and his sons, and all his people. And we took all his cities at that time." At what time? At the time when we smote him. This was done probably less than three months previous. If that was not long enough for the expression "at that time," what should Moses have said? Let the critic tell us. In the next passage Moses speaks of Og, and says: "We smote him until there was nothing left to him remaining. And we took all his cities at that time." Ought he to have said, "at this time"? In the

next, referring to the same two conquests, Moses says: "We took the land at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites." The next is a repetition of the same thought, and the next is the statement: "I commanded you at that time, saying, Jehovah your God hath given you this land to possess it." Finally he tells the people: "At that time I besought Jehovah to let me go over into the promised land."

This argument is so ill conceived, and even puerile, that I would be ashamed to spend time on it were it not that it has been handed down in a traditionary way from critical father to critical son, as though it were a rich inheritance.¹² In Driver's book its nakedness is covered up by referring to the passages with Arabic figures and avoiding the quotation of a single one.

Driver's second argument on the same passage is this:

The writer, though aware of the fact of the forty years' wanderings (viii. 2, 4), does not appear to realize fully the length of the interval, and identifies those whom he addresses with the generation that came out of Egypt in a manner which betrays that he is not speaking as a contemporary.

Yes; he does thus address them. He says, "Thou shalt remember all the way which Jehovah thy God led thee these forty years in the wilderness," etc. And why should he not? It is true that all of those who were over twenty years of age when they crossed the Red Sea had died, but all, or nearly all, who were twenty years old or under when they crossed the sea were alive, and could remember every incident of the forty years. They were between forty and sixty years of age. The rest had been born during the forty years, some in one year and some in another, down to the youngest person standing there to hear; and the boys and girls only ten years of age had heard the whole story told by their elders a thousand times. Who is it that betrays himself here, the writer of the book, or the critic who invented, and the others who have blindly accepted this blundering criticism?

The third argument is expressed in these lines:

¹² Comp. Robertson Smith, *O. T.*, 326; Addis, *Doc. of Hex.*, xv.f.

In ii. 12 ("As Israel did unto the land of his possession") there is an evident anachronism; however, some writers have treated the antiquarian notices in ii. 10-12, 20-23 (though otherwise in the style of Deuteronomy, and similar to iii. 9, 11, 13; xi. 30) as glosses.

Here the professor was about to put his feet on thin ice, but he drew back in time. Of course, these antiquarian notices are glosses, as any one can see who will observe how rudely every one of them breaks the close connection of thought in the words preceding and following it. At the beginning of every one of them the speaker's voice is suspended, and another person speaks through the parenthesis. Whether Moses is the speaker, or the hypothetical Deuteronomist, as these parentheses are by a different hand, they can furnish no evidence against the Mosaic authorship. Yet they do furnish evidence unfavorable to the date of Deuteronomy assumed by these critics. For after the days of Josiah, and in the absence of all historic documents earlier than the eighth century, what living Israelite knew anything, or could know anything, about the Emim, the Horites, the Zamzummim, the Avvim, and others whose movements are mentioned in these notes? And if he did, what imaginable motive could he have had for interpolating these statements about them in the supposed speech of Moses? There is no answer to these questions. On the other hand, if Moses actually made these speeches, there were men living at the time, and for a generation or two after the time, who may have had possession of these facts, and who through an antiquarian interest may have made the interpolations. Whatever bearing these notes have, then, on the question of authorship, it is decidedly, if not conclusively, in favor of Moses.

Driver's fourth argument, on the same page, is no more satisfactory than either of the preceding:

The expression, "When ye came forth out of Egypt," not merely in xxiv. 9; xxv. 17, but also in xxv. 5 (cf. 4), of an incident quite at the end of the forty years' wanderings (cf. iv. 45, 46), could not have been used naturally by Moses, speaking less than six months afterwards, but testifies to a writer of a later age, in which the forty years had dwindled to a point.

If this is true, then the Deuteronomist, with all his skill in simulating Moses, either betrayed himself at this point, or thought, contrary to Professor Driver, that these words were natural under the circumstances. We can judge whether he or his critics are correct, only by taking the expression in its connections. First, then, "Remember what Jehovah thy God did to Miriam by the way as ye came forth out of Egypt." Was it unnatural, at the close of the forty years, for Moses to say this? Did not the leprosy of Miriam occur "by the way as they came forth out of Egypt"? Second, "Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way as ye came forth out of Egypt." Is there anything unnatural in this? Did not Amalek do this by the way? Third, the Ammonites and Moabites are censured, "because they met you not with bread and water in the way when ye came forth out of Egypt." Does this use of the expression differ from the others? In all these instances the words, "as ye came forth out of Egypt," or "when ye came forth out of Egypt," are evidently used, not of the moment when they crossed the Red Sea, but of their whole journey from Egypt to the plain of Moab, where Moses was speaking; and any event which had transpired, whether at the beginning or near the end, is properly referred to in this way. It is like a child fishing in a wash-tub, to search in these passages for evidence against the Mosaic authorship of these speeches.

3. Evidence from Differences between the Laws of Exodus and Deuteronomy. It is argued that the differences between certain laws in Deuteronomy and those in Exodus show that the former were given in a later age than the latter, and when the latter had ceased to be "adequate to the nation's needs." Driver gives six specifications under this head which we shall notice:

(1) The first is the law of the kingdom, as it is styled, in Deut. xvii. 14-20, which, he says, "is colored by reminiscences of the monarchy of Solomon." "The argument," he continues to say, "does not deny that Moses may have made provision for the establishment of a monarchy in Israel, but affirms that the

form in which the provision is here cast bears the stamp of a later age" (*Com.*, xlv.).¹³

If, as is here alleged, this law is colored by reminiscences of the monarchy of Solomon, there is no need of further evidence that it was not given by Moses; but if, instead of being colored by reminiscences, it is colored by *anticipation* of such a monarchy, the argument is reversed. If, in other words, the expressions containing the supposed allusion to Solomon may have been used by a man of wise human foresight, they contain no evidence against the Mosaic authorship. We can judge of this only by placing the expressions in print before us, and carefully considering their force. The first provision of the law has reference to the nationality of the king: "When thou art come into the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are round about me; thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee whom Jehovah thy God shall choose: one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee; thou mayest not put a foreigner over thee, who is not thy brother."

What was to prevent Moses from anticipating all this? He was starting his people on their national career without a king, when all the nations round about them had kings, and had been ruled by them in all the past. He would have been grossly ignorant of human nature had he not anticipated and feared that in the course of time they would grow weary of such singularity, and want to be like other nations. Such has been the fearful anticipation of every body of patriots who have ever organized a democratic or republican form of government. And as to the nationality of the king, inasmuch as Israel had no man of royal blood, how prone they would be, when the royal fever should seize them, to offer the throne to some foreign prince. Even modern Greece was induced by this considera-

¹³ Driver here follows Kuenen, who says: "The warnings against trade with Egypt, polygamy and great riches, are borrowed from the traditions concerning the wise king, and are directed against the errors into which he fell" (*Rel. of Israel*, II. 33 f.).

tion, when she became a kingdom, to import a sprig of royalty from Denmark. Thus far, then, everything in the law accords with a Mosaic origin. On the other hand, if Deuteronomy was first published in the reign of Josiah, when Israel had been ruled by a line of kings for more than four hundred years, and the people of Judah had become so wedded to the house of David as to abhor the thought of submitting to any other sovereign, what could have been the motive for writing such a law as this? It would be as if the British Parliament should at its present session pass a law that when, hereafter, a monarch of the empire shall be crowned, he shall not be a Frenchman.

The next provision of the law is this: "Only he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt to the end that he should multiply horses; forasmuch as Jehovah hath said to you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way." What is there here that Moses may not have anticipated? He had left a land which was famous for its chariots and horsemen, and how could he avoid fearing that his people might some day imitate Egypt in this particular, and thus become a military instead of an agricultural people? And he knew perfectly well that if they or their possible king should be fired with this kind of ambition, many of them would be drawn back into Egypt by the traffic in horses, and would thus be brought once more under the idolatrous influences of that heathen land. On the other hand, why should this warning be given to the Israel of Josiah's reign, when the thought of multiplying horses had never entered the mind of a Hebrew monarch since the days of Solomon? The people remembered too well the oppressive burdens of Solomon's reign, entailed partly by his attempt to build up an army of chariots and horsemen, a burden which caused the revolt of the ten tribes, to need any warning against it at so late a day as Josiah's reign. It is true, as some critics have said in answer to this objection, that the prophets had rebuked some of the kings of Judah for trusting in horses rather than in Jehovah, but it was when they were trusting in help from the cavalry of Egypt, and not that

they had, or desired to have, cavalry of their own. (See Isa. xxxi. 1; xxxvi. 9.)

The next provision is this: "Neither shall he multiply wives, that his heart turn not away; neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold." Rameses II., from whom Moses fled into the land of Midian, and who died while he was there, left an inscription in which he declares that he had sixty-nine daughters and seventy sons; and, of course, he had multiplied wives unto himself. Moses would have been blind not to have seen the evils of his course, and not to have wished to guard any future king of his own people against this great folly. But a writer in the days of Josiah, when the kings of Judah, warned by Solomon's bad example in violating this law, had abstained from this vice through many generations, it would have been idle and preposterous to formally originate such a law. As to multiplying silver and gold, there was even less danger of this in the poverty-stricken condition of Judah under Josiah; while in the days of Moses the gracious promises of God and the bright hopes of Israel for temporal prosperity, and even the promise that Israel should lend to the nations, and borrow from none, made it exceedingly probable that the multiplication of silver and gold, with all its corrupting effects, would be one of the future dangers to both king and people.

Respecting the last provision of this law, that the king should have a copy of it, and that he should be governed by it in all of his personal as well as his official conduct, there is no pretense that it is inappropriate to the time of Moses. We leave the topic, then, with the fullest assurance that the evidence in the case is altogether in favor of the Mosaic origin of this statute.

Driver, however, supplements his argument from the form of the law by an appeal to the facts connected with the first appointment of a king by Samuel. He argues thus:

Had this law been known in fact, either to Samuel, or to the people who demanded of him a king, it is incredible either that Samuel should have resisted the application of the people as he is represented as doing, or that the people should not have appealed to the law as a sufficient justification of their request (*Com.*, 213).

Whether this is true or not, depends on the form of the law. If the law gave the people the privilege of making a king at any time they might choose to do so, they would undoubtedly have appealed to it against Samuel's remonstrance. But this it did not do. It said: "When thou shalt say, I will set a king over me, like all the nations that are round me, thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee whom Jehovah thy God shall choose." These words express the anticipation that they would make a king, but they express neither approval nor disapproval of the act. Whether it would be sinful or not, was to depend on circumstances at the time. Samuel resisted the application of the people, first of all, because it was setting him aside as their judge, although when called upon for an expression they declared that there had been no fault in his administration (I. Sam. viii. 6-8); and secondly, because they were rejecting God from reigning over them; and this last thought he enforced by reciting the facts in their past history which showed that in every time of oppression by their enemies God had raised up competent leaders to deliver them (xiii. 6-12). This made it sinful, because it was ungrateful. In the third place, Samuel's resistance was based on the foreseen evils which the people would bring upon themselves by this change. No nation of antiquity had enjoyed so inexpensive a form of government as they, and none had been so free from the exactions of tyrants. The evils of the choice upon which they were now so intent, were fully pointed out to them (viii. 8-18), and it was on account of the plunge they were about to make into a sea of remediless miseries, that he vehemently exhorted them to desist. Driver's argument, then, is based on a misconception of the form of the law, and a still greater misconception of the grounds on which Samuel urged his remonstrance. It furnishes no evidence in favor of a late origin of the law.

(2) Driver's second specification is the following:

The terms of Deut. xvii. 8-13 (cf. xix. 17), in which the constitution of the supreme tribunal is not *prescribed*, but represented as already known, appear to presuppose the existence of the judicature instituted (according to II. Chron. xix. 8-11) by Jehoshaphat.

In the first of these references the supreme tribunal *is* prescribed: it is not represented as already known; but all that is said of it looks to the future. The introductory words are these: "If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy gates: then shalt thou arise, and get thee to the place which Jehovah thy God shall choose; and thou shalt come to the priests the Levites, and to the judge that shall be in those days: and thou shalt inquire; and they shall show thee the sentence of judgment," etc. In these words a supreme tribunal is formally constituted; it is to consist of the priests who shall be at the central sanctuary, and "the judge that shall be in those days." Who that judge was to be is not prescribed, but the later history shows that he was to be one of those rulers called judges who were raised up by Jehovah from time to time until the monarchy was established, and after that, the monarch himself. The second passage (xix. 17) is supplementary to the preceding, and prescribes the penalty for perjury: "If an unrighteous witness rise up against any man to testify against him of wrong doing; then both the men between whom the controversy is, shall stand before the priests and the judges that shall be in those days; and the judges shall make diligent inquisition: and, behold, if the witness be a false witness, and hath testified falsely against his brother, then shall ye do unto him as he had thought to do unto his brother." Here, again, provision is made for the proceedings in a tribunal "that shall be in those days" and not in one already known. Finally, the work done by Jehoshaphat (II. Chron. xix. 11), in which he established precisely this kind of judiciary in Judah, instead of being the original inauguration of it, was a renewal of it after it had fallen into neglect; for that proceeding is formally introduced by the words, "And Jehoshaphat dwelt at Jerusalem: and he went out again among the people, from Beersheba to the hill country of Ephraim, and brought them back to Jehovah, the God of their fathers." Then follows the account of setting up

judges in every city, and giving them needed instruction. The absence of this judicature had been a departure from Jehovah; the re-establishment of it was a return to Jehovah.

Thus the very passages relied upon to prove a late date for this legislation, proves the reverse—so grossly has the perverted vision of the critics distorted the sacred text. It is worthy of notice, here, that, notwithstanding the discredit which our critics attach to Chronicles, they are not ashamed to appeal to it when they think it speaks to suit them.

(3) Driver next specifies the prohibition in Deuteronomy of the worship of the "host of heaven." He says:

The forms of idolatry alluded to, especially the worship of the "host of heaven" (iv. 19; vii. 3), point to a date not earlier than the second half of the eighth century B. C. It is true the worship of the sun and moon is ancient, as is attested even by the names of places in Canaan; but in the notices (which are frequent) of idolatrous practices in the historical books from Judges to Kings, no mention of the "host of heaven" occurs till the reign of Ahaz; and in the seventh century it is alluded to frequently.

This argument is frivolous. It assumes that the prohibition of a certain sin must be of later date than the commission of it. And this, too, when it is admitted that the sin in question was an ancient one, certainly more ancient than Moses. It was practiced by the Egyptians from whom Moses had delivered his people. If it was not practiced in Israel till the time of Ahaz, this may be accounted for by the very fact that it had been so plainly prohibited by name in the law of Moses. It would be just as reasonable to argue that the prohibition against devoting children to Molech (Lev. xviii. 21) was not known until the time of Ahaz, because he was the first king of Israel to practice it (II. Kings xvi. 3). Moses had personal knowledge of both these forms of idolatry, and he had good reason to prohibit both by name.

(4) In his next specification Driver completely ignores the element of divine inspiration, as he does in all the others in a less degree. He follows Dillman in saying: "The style of Deuteronomy, in its rhetorical fullness and breadth of diction, implies a long development of the art of public oratory, and is

not of a character to belong to the first age of Hebrew literature." If Moses spoke by inspiration of God, this is an idle remark; and no man could make it seriously who regarded the speaker as being moved by the Holy Spirit. It is therefore a rationalistic argument which he and Dillman, from whom he copies it, have adopted from unbelieving critics. But, apart from this, the argument ignores a perfectly natural source from which this "public oratory" may have been acquired. If Moses lived in the first period of Egyptian literature, and was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians, a man mighty in word and deed, he was able to use the Hebrew tongue with all the excellencies of oratory which had been developed in the Egyptian. On the other hand, what evidence have we that such a development of oratory existed in the period from Manasseh to Josiah, that we should locate these splendid orations in that interval? On this point these critics are as silent as the grave. They claim that Jeremiah was influenced in his style by Deuteronomy; but by whom was the writer of Deuteronomy influenced? Not by Isaiah; for the critics earnestly deny any connection between the two. A man possessed of such oratorical powers at that time, would be a far greater intellectual marvel than the wildest imagination can suppose Moses to have been after enjoying the culture of the golden period of Egyptian literature. True, Moses said, when his commission was first given, "Lord, I am not eloquent. I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue" (Ex. iv. 10); but that was after his sojourn of forty years as a shepherd in the wilderness, and before his inspiration or his long experience in public speaking to the tribes of Israel. Under this specification, as under others that we have noticed, the argument stands reversed; and it is intrinsically more probable that the discourses in Deuteronomy came from the lips of Moses than from those of any man who lived in Israel after his time.

(5) We next notice the argument that "the prophetic teaching of Deuteronomy, the dominant theological ideas, the points of view under which the laws are presented, the princi-

ples by which conduct is estimated, presuppose a relatively advanced stage of theological reflection, as they also approximate to what is found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel." Here, again, the inspiration of the author is ignored, or, rather, it is assumed that there was none. The points of superiority mentioned are claimed as the result, not of divine enlightenment, but of "a relatively advanced stage of theological reflection." Once more we are in the footsteps of rationalism. And suppose that all this is true, I should like to know what Israelite in the days of Josiah or before was possessed of a "more advanced stage of theological reflection" than Moses, who communed with God through forty years of shepherd life into which he was thrown by his zeal for God, and then communed with the same God under the light of an increasing knowledge of his character for forty years more of active service as the ruler of God's chosen people? Had he no time for "advanced theological reflection"? Was his head a blockhead?

(6) The next specification under the present head is expressed in these words:

The law in Deut. xviii. 20-22 presupposes an age in which the true prophets found themselves in conflict with numerous and influential false prophets, and it became necessary to supply Israel with the means of distinguishing them; *i. e.*, the period from the eighth century onward.

The law referred to reads thus: "But the prophet, that shall speak a word presumptuously in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, that same prophet shall die. And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which Jehovah hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of Jehovah, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which Jehovah hath not spoken: the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously, thou shalt not be afraid of him." What is there in this law to show that when it was written, the true prophets found themselves in conflict with numerous and influential false prophets? If plain words can mean anything, the law is predictive. There is no hint or ground for an inference that the false prophets were already in existence, but the

very opposite. It is only those who deny the occurrence of predictive prophecy who can find in this law the presupposition of which Driver speaks. And to deny prophetic prediction is to deny every clause in this law; for not only is the law itself predictive, but the test of a false prophet which it prescribes is the fact that his predictions are not fulfilled. So essential is prediction to the existence of real prophetic powers, that a prophet must have uttered some prediction that has been fulfilled before he is to be credited as a prophet at all. This argument is another example of tacitly denying the reality of inspiration. It is the argument of critics who deny the supernatural, though employed by some who claim to accept it. The weapons of this warfare, we continue to see, were forged by the enemies of the Bible.

(7) We notice only one more of Driver's specifications. It is the law against the removal of landmarks: "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit, in the land that Jehovah thy God giveth thee to possess it" (xix. 14).

The argument of this law is a commonplace among the adverse critics, and by Driver it is stated as follows:

The law, in its present wording, presupposes the occupation of Canaan by the Israelites, "they of old time" being evidently not the Canaanite predecessors of the Israelites, but the Israelitish ancestors of the present possessors (*Com.*, 235).

This statement contains two palpable contradictions of the law "in its present wording." The assertion that "it presupposes the occupation of Canaan by the Israelites" contradicts the words "in thine inheritance which thou shalt inherit;" and this designation of the inheritance by the future tense, contradicts the representation that the Israelites addressed are "the present possessors." No grosser misstatement of "the law in its present wording" could well be made. The people are addressed as the *future* possessors of the land, and the clause "which they of old times have set up" may refer either to the landmarks which the Canaanites set up, and which would still mark the boundaries of many estates, or the landmarks which

the Israelites *would* have set up. As Hebrew verbs have no future perfect tense, the past tense is used in the place of it in connection with future verbs in related clauses. This well-known grammatical peculiarity of the language should have guarded Hebrew scholars from the blunder involved in this argument. Translated with reference to it, the law was, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time shall have set up." This would protect all landmarks, whether set up by Canaanites or Israelites. It was needful that the former as well as the latter be protected, not only because the former would sometimes mark the corners of lines of an Israelite's land, but also because the distance and direction of a new corner-stone from an old one of the Canaanites would often help to fix the position of the new one. It is an everyday occurrence, where a section of country has been surveyed at different periods, for old landmarks to help in determining the location of new ones, and vice versa. This argument, then, though universally accepted as valid by destructive critics, came into existence and is propagated only by reversing the time reference in the law.

4. Evidence for Late Date of the Blessings and Curses, the Song of Moses, and his Blessing of the Tribes. These three documents, occupying chapters xxviii.-xxxiii., are held to be of later date than the time of Moses, on the ground of internal evidence.

(1) The predicted blessings and curses of chapter xxviii. Andrew Harper states the argument in the following paragraph:

If any evidence were now needed that this chapter was written later than the Mosaic time, it might be found in the space given to the curses, and the much heavier emphasis laid upon them than upon the blessings. Not that Moses might not have prophetically foretold Israel's disregard of the warnings. But if the heights to which Israel was actually to rise had been before the author's mind as still future, instead of being wrapped in the mists of the past, he could not but have dwelt more equally upon both sides of the picture. Whatever supernatural gifts a prophet might have, he was still and in all things a man. He was subject to moods like others, and the determination of these depended upon his surroundings. He was not kept by the power of God beyond the shadows which the clouds in his day might cast; and we may safely say that if the curses which are to follow

disobedience are elaborated and dwelt upon much more than the blessings which are to reward obedience, it is because the author lived at a time of disobedience and revolt. Obviously his contemporaries were going far in the evil way, and he warns them with intense and eager earnestness against the dangers they are so recklessly incurring.

This reasoning is so inconsequential that it is difficult to see how any man of discrimination could be led into it except by the force of a foregone conclusion. If, as is here freely admitted, Moses may have "prophetically foretold Israel's disregard of warnings," what could have led him to lay more emphasis on the curses to come than on the blessings? Nothing except the fact that the future was to be just what he foretold. And if he had "dwelt more equally on both sides of the picture," he would thereby have proved himself a false prophet; for the history of Israel, from the day that Moses died until their final dispersion by the Romans, contains tenfold more on the darker side of the picture than on the lighter. But Mr. Harper accounts for this difference on the ground that the writer was "subject to moods" like others, and the unfaithfulness and revolt common in his day gave form to his predictions. This is to contradict what had just been admitted; for if a darker future was predicted than history was to verify, what becomes of the admission that Moses may have prophetically foretold what he did? The explanation completely ignores prophetic foresight. And this is unjust to the author of Deuteronomy, whether he was Moses or some unknown man in the time of Manasseh; for the captivity of Israel was at that time still in the future, and no uninspired man could have predicted it so clearly as he does, unless, indeed, he was a mere copyist of Hosea and Isaiah, with which he has never been charged. He not only predicts the Babylonian captivity, which was less than a hundred years in the future, but he predicts even more plainly the Roman captivity (xlix. 53), which was yet seven hundred years in the future. Who is more likely to have possessed this wonderful predictive power, Moses or some unknown writer under the wicked reign of Manasseh? Moreover, this chapter is admitted to be one of the most admirable

specimens of oratory to be found in the whole Bible. Driver goes even further, and says of it:

The chapter forms an eloquent and impressive peroration to the great exposition of Israel's duty which has preceded: and in sustained declamatory power it stands unrivaled in the Old Testament (*Com.*, 303).

Who was this matchless orator? Did he live and stir the heart of the nation to its depths, and still remain absolutely unknown to his generation, though living and writing in the very center of it? Or was it really Moses, the great Egyptian scholar and Hebrew lawgiver, to whom it is expressly ascribed? Surely there is nothing here to throw doubt on the Mosaic authorship, but everything to confirm it.

(2) The song of Moses. The copy of this song which is preserved in the thirty-first chapter of Deuteronomy is preceded by three historical statements respecting it, and followed by another.

The first is the command of the Lord to Moses: "Now therefore write ye this song for you, and teach thou it to the children of Israel: put it in their mouths, that this song may be a witness for me against the children of Israel." According to this, the song was to be written by Moses; he was to teach the people to sing it, and it was to be preserved as God's witness against them in any future departure from its sentiments. The last thought is repeated in the next statement: "It shall come to pass, when many evils and troubles are come upon them, that this song shall testify before them as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten from out of the mouths of their seed: for I know their imagination which they go about, even now, before I have brought them into the land which I swear." Here is the additional prediction that the song would not be forgotten; and this is generally true of national songs such as this was intended to be. In the third place, it is formally stated that "Moses wrote this song the same day, and taught it to the children of Israel" (xxx. 19, 21, 22). The fourth statement, made at the end of the song, is this: "And Moses came and spake all the words of this song in the ears of the

people; he, and Hoshea the son of Nun" (xxxii. 44). If now, this song, which stands in between these last two statements, was actually composed as is here declared, and copied into the place which it now occupies, every generation of Israel, from the time of their first apostasy after the death of Joshua, realized the fulfillment of its purpose when it was read or sung; and the generation in which Hilkiiah brought the book forth out of the temple realized it as keenly as any that preceded. But if, when the book was brought forth by Hilkiiah, no aged Israelite had been able to remember the existence of the song in former years, or could remember hearing his forefathers speak of it, how could the whole nation have been made to believe that it had existed through all their past generations, and had testified, as God said it would, against every generation that had apostatized? The insertion in the book of these four statements would have exposed at once the falsehoods contained in them, and would have brought the whole book into contempt. Furthermore, if the supposed author of the book, in the reign of Josiah or Manasseh, had wished these four statements to be believed, he certainly would not have put such indications of date in the song itself as to demonstrate their falsity. We may affirm, then, *a priori*, that the song has nothing in it which the Deuteronomist considered inconsistent with these four statements.

This leads us to the song itself. The first four verses are a magnificent appeal to heaven and earth to hear its lofty praises of Jehovah. Then follows at verse 5 an abrupt transition to these words: "They have dealt corruptly with him, they are not his children, it is their blemish; they are a perverse and crooked generation." The generation here spoken of is not designated. The words are applicable to almost any generation in the history of Israel, and they were not inappropriate to the generation to which Moses was bidding farewell. The sentence is so framed, indeed, that the generation to which Moses recited the song would instinctively apply it to itself, and every subsequent sinful generation would as instinctively do the same.

This was necessary if the song was to have perpetually its intended effect. Next after this fifth verse comes a series of questions and remarks having reference to events which had already transpired in the days of Moses, and reaching forward to the time when, in the luxuries of the promised land, he says, "But Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked" (verse 15). From this point forward the people are spoken of alternately in the third person and past tense, the second person and present tense, and in the future tense. But, amid this variety of form, every sentence uttered is an appropriate warning to every generation that might be a sinful one. There is nothing to indicate in the slightest degree a late date for the composition, except the fact that in this last section the speaker in some sentences addresses a future generation as if he were present before them. This is the one evidence which is held by adverse critics as proof that the song is post-Mosaic. In arguing this point, Driver makes a series of statements which here demand our attention:

Nothing in the poem points to Moses as its author.

What force is there in this negation, when four statements of the author of the book in the immediate connection declare that he was the author?

The period of the Exodus, and of the occupation of Canaan, lies in the distant past (7-12), the story of which may be learned by the poet's contemporaries from their *fathers* (7).

The correctness of this statement we deny. The period covered by the verses cited was in the recent past when Moses stood on the bank of the Jordan, and the occupation of Canaan was not included. The verses referred to are these:

Consider the years of many generations:
 Ask thy father, and he will shew thee;
 Thine elders, and they will tell thee.
 When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance,
 When he separated the children of men,
 He set the bounds of the peoples
 According to the number of the children of Israel.
 For Jehovah's portion is his people;
 Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.
 He found him in a desert land,
 And in the waste howling wilderness;
 He compassed him about, he cared for him,

He kept him as the apple of his eye:
 As an eagle that stirreth up her nest,
 That fluttereth over her young,
 He spread abroad his wings, he took them,
 He bare them on his pinions:
 Jehovah alone did lead him,
 And there was no strange god with him.

All this was certainly in the past when Moses is said to have spoken, and only parts of it were in the distant past. The past tense is continued as the song gradually glides into the future, and the state of apostasy which was predicted in the twenty-eighth chapter is spoken of as if it were already in existence. On this feature of the song, as we have remarked above, is based the inference of its post-Mosaic origin. Driver says:

To suppose that the poet adopted an *assumed* standpoint, especially one *between* Israel's disaster and its deliverance, is highly unnatural (*ib.*, 345).

And Andrew Harper, in discussing the same question, says:

Such a process is now generally regarded as not impossible indeed, but unheard of in the history of prophecy (*Com.*, 452, note).

To say that it is unnatural, is irrelevant; for all real prediction is unnatural, and is guided not by the instincts of the prophet, but by the will of the inspiring Spirit. And to say that it is unheard of in the history of prophecy, is only to assert that it is found in this prophecy alone, which would not be a very strange circumstance. There is no law requiring all prophecies to be alike. But it is not unheard of in the history of prophecy. A striking instance is found in so familiar a passage as the second Psalm. There the rage of kings and peoples against Jehovah and his anointed is depicted as if it were already in the past, and these kings are addressed in the second person with an admonition calling on them to be wise and to serve Jehovah with fear lest they perish when his wrath shall be kindled. Harper cites, in support of his assertion, the fact that Isa. xl.-xli. is "now ascribed to a prophet or prophets of the exile" (*ib.*, 353). It is so ascribed by the class of critics to which he belongs, but this is to cite a disputed conclusion of these critics to prove the correctness of another which is also disputed. If conjectural critics are allowed this privilege, there

is nothing which they can not prove to their own satisfaction, and to the satisfaction of nobody else. It is safe to say, too, that if, in connection with any one prediction in this part of Isaiah, there were four explicit statements that God commanded Isaiah the son of Amoz to write it and read it to the people, and cause them to memorize it, and that Isaiah did this, the most radical of our critics would hardly have the hardihood to deny that Isaiah was its author. But such is the exact fact in regard to this song of Moses. Furthermore, in this very portion of the Book of Isaiah there are predictions in which this feature that Driver says is unnatural, and Harper says is unheard of, actually occurs. Take, for example, xlv. 22, 23; and let it be granted, for argument's sake, that it was written by a prophet in the exile. Writing before the exile is ended, he speaks of its end in the past tense, saying: "O Israel, thou shalt not be forgotten of me. I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions, and, as a cloud, thy sins: return unto me; for I have redeemed thee." Then, taking his standpoint at the close of this redemption, he calls upon all nature to rejoice with him, exclaiming: "Sing, O ye heavens, for Jehovah hath done it; shout, ye lower parts of the earth; break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein: for Jehovah hath redeemed Jacob, and will glorify himself in Israel." Again, in the fifty-third chapter, which, in spite of all that unbelieving critics have said to the contrary, is a prediction respecting the Messiah, if one is to be found anywhere in the Old Testament, the career of our suffering and dying Lord is depicted as if the prophet were standing this side of it, and looking back; and it is only after his "soul has been made an offering for sin," that the prophet looks forward and declares that "he shall see his seed, and shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of Jehovah shall prosper in his hands." The two principal allegations, then, on which critics base their denial of the Mosaic authorship of this song, are untrue; and with these their contention breaks down. This makes it unnecessary to cumber these pages with a few other

inferences, vague and without force, which are put forward by the same writers in the sections from which we have quoted. (See Driver, *Com.*, 344-348; Harper, *Com.*, 452-454.) One more remark of Harper is worthy of note as we close this discussion:

The contents of the song are in every way worthy of the origin assigned to it; and higher praise than this it is impossible to conceive (455).

If this is true, how is it that the literary genius, not inferior to Moses, from whom it really sprang, lived in the midst of Jerusalem, in an enlightened age, and even his existence has not gone into the history of the times? Is this credible?

(3) The blessing of the tribes. This poem, occupying the thirty-third chapter of Deuteronomy, is introduced with this statement: "And this is the blessing wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death." The authorship here asserted is denied by the critics who deny the Mosaic origin of the book as a whole. The grounds of this denial are fully set forth by Driver in his comments on the chapter, and we shall consider them seriatim. He says:

a. It is incredible that verse 5 ("Moses commanded *us* a law") could have been written by Moses.

The question turns upon the use of the pronoun "*us*;" and it is to be determined by observing whether the giving of the law referred to was so far in the past that Moses might include himself among those to whom it was given. If we believe the record in Exodus and Leviticus, it was; for it had been given nearly forty years previous. The poem begins with the words, "Jehovah came from Sinai," which is a direct allusion to the events connected with that mountain, and the sentence of which the words in question are the beginning is this:

Moses commanded *us* a law
And inheritance for the assembly of Jacob,
And he was king in Jeshurun,
When the heads of the people were gathered,
All the tribes of Israel together.

The context shows plainly that the reference is to the law given at Mount Sinai, and Moses, thirty-nine years afterward,

might well say he gave it to us, seeing that it was law for him not less than for any other Israelite. Moreover, the song was written to be sung by the people after the death of its author. It is then altogether credible that Moses wrote this passage.

b. Verses 27 and 28 look back to the conquest of Palestine as past.

The verses read thus:

The eternal God is thy dwelling place,
And underneath are the everlasting arms:
And he thrust out the enemy from before thee,
And Israel dwelleth in safety,
The fountain of Jacob alone,
In a land of corn and wine;
Yea, his heavens drop down dew.

As the blessing is prophetic, and as the happy state here alluded to had been promised to Israel again and again, what is to hinder the thought that here the prophet speaks of the near future as if it were already present? Nothing is more common in prophecy.

c. Verses 12 and 19-23 describe special geographical or other circumstances (verse 21, the part taken by God in the conquest of Canaan) with a particularity not usual when the prophets are describing the future.

Suppose that they do: is the authorship of a prophecy to be denied because its "particularity" is unusual? This would be a strange rule of criticism. And what are these geographical allusions, the particularity of which is so unusual? In verse 12 it is said of Benjamin:

The beloved of Jehovah shall dwell in safety by him;
He covereth him all the day long,
And he dwelleth between his shoulders.

Instead of geographical allusions, there is nothing here but the nearness of Benjamin to his God who keeps him in safety—a matter with which geography has nothing to do. As to the other verses cited, the reader can see, by glancing over them, that while they contain allusions to the mountain, the sea, the sand, the west and the south, they are all of the vaguest kind, and such as a poet, speaking of either the past or the future, might easily make.

d. The silence respecting Simeon presupposes a period when (as certainly was not the case till after the Mosaic period—Judg. i. 3) the tribe was absorbed in Judah.

But this presupposition could not account for the silence about Simeon; for a poet writing after Simeon disappeared as a tribe, and putting his poem in the mouth of Moses, would have been almost certain to make him predict the fate of Simeon. He could have had no reason for the omission. On the other hand, if Moses wrote the blessing, and if he was an inspired prophet, it may have appeared to the Spirit wise not to make known beforehand the sad fate awaiting the tribe, but rather, by silence with reference to it, to leave the members of the tribe and of all the others in wonder as to the reason, until the event should disclose it. Once more the argument is reversed and favors the Mosaic authorship.

Continuing his argument, Driver admits that the blessing is ancient, more so than the Book of Deuteronomy, and decides that its most probable date is "shortly after the rupture under Jeroboam I." He argues the question thus:

The blessing presupposes a period when Reuben had dwindled in numbers and Simeon had ceased to exist as an independent tribe, when the tribe of Levi was warmly respected (verses 8-11), when the temple had been built and was regarded with affection by pious worshipers of Jehovah (12), when Ephraim was flourishing and powerful (13-17), and Zebulon and Issachar commercially prosperous (19). Judah, on the contrary (7), would seem to have been in some difficulty or need, and (see the note) severed from the rest of Israel. No trace of idolatry, or of Israel's declension from its ideal, . . . no word of censure or reproach (387).

In all this Driver assumes that there is no predictive element whatever in the blessing, and thus he agrees with his unbelieving predecessors in this criticism. His allegations, so far as they are true, agree perfectly with the Mosaic date, and positively disagree with that which he espouses. For instance, when Moses died, Reuben had already "dwindled in numbers," for at the first census his number was 46,500, and at the second census, thirty-nine years later, it was only 43,730. The allegation about Simeon we have just disposed of above. As to the tribe of Levi, it was as warmly respected in the last days of Moses, when it had successfully carried the ark and

the tabernacle through the wilderness, and had never engaged in any rebellion, as it ever was afterward, and far more so than in the days of Jeroboam, when all the Levites living in his territory were forced to leave their homes and retire into Judah in consequence of Jeroboam's sin with the golden calves and his other unlawful practices. For the statement that the temple had been built, there is not the slightest evidence in the verse referred to as proof. It reads thus:

Of Benjamin he said,
The beloved of Jehovah shall dwell in safety by him;
He covereth him all the day long,
And he dwelleth between his shoulders.

An allusion to the temple has to be read into this verse: it is not there. Benjamin could be beloved of Jehovah, and dwell in safety by him; and Jehovah could cover him all the day, and dwell between his shoulders as well before the temple was built, or after it was destroyed, as while it was standing. Furthermore, this high spiritual encomium on Benjamin was altogether undeserved at any long period after the death of Moses. We have only to think of the affair at Gibeah, of King Saul, of Shimei, of Sheba's rebellion, and of the insignificance of Benjamin at the time of Jeroboam's defection, in order to realize how shocking would be the application of this blessing to Benjamin in the later history.

Next we are told that the blessing was written "when Ephraim was flourishing and powerful, and Zebulun and Issachar commercially prosperous." But all that is said of these three tribes is spoken in the future tense. It is prophecy and not history, though the argument assumes that it is the latter. Moreover, though Ephraim was certainly prosperous and powerful under the reign of Jeroboam, it was no less so in the reigns of Saul, David and Solomon. Indeed, when Moses died, the combined tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, which are both included in this blessing, outnumbered every other tribe by many thousands. And as to the commercial prosperity of Zebulun and Issachar, there is not a word said about it in the his-

tory of Jeroboam's reign. It exists only in the imagination of the critic.

Finally, our author says that the blessing points to "no trace of idolatry, or of Israel's declension from its ideal . . . no word of censure or reproach." This is true; and the statement of it is on the critic's part suicidal; for in the period of Jeroboam I. the one sensation of the time was the calf-worship set up by Jeroboam, and his decree that his subjects should no longer go to Jerusalem to worship. This is the sin the references to which ring like a chorus through all the subsequent chapters of the Book of Kings, till the fall of Israel, styled "the sin which Jeroboam the son of Nebat taught Israel to sin." From Professor Driver's own point of view there could not be a more complete demonstration, than is here presented, that the date which he advocates is not the true one. Indeed, there is not a period in the history of Israel, from the death of Moses to that of Josiah, to which this last characteristic of the blessing could be fully applied. To the full extent that it has any force as evidence, it is proof that the blessing came from the lips of Moses.

As to Judah, he was not, in the time of Jeroboam, "severed from the rest of Israel," for he had Benjamin with him, and he was not "in some difficulty or need;" on the contrary, he raised a powerful army for the purpose of bringing back into subjection the tribes in rebellion under Jeroboam, and was turned back from the attempt only by the command of God through the prophet Shemaiah. The words of the blessing pronounced on Judah are these:

Hear, Jehovah, the voice of Judah,
And bring him in unto his people:
With his hands he contended for himself;
And thou shalt be an help against his adversaries.

The early history of the patriarch Judah himself supplies the facts here alluded to. After his father and his brethren returned from Padan-aram, he separated himself from his brethren, went down to Adullam, and united in business with a Canaanite named Hirah, married there, and resided there

until after the birth of his two grandsons Perez and Zerah (Gen. xxxviii. 1-30).

We now have before us the grounds on which this learned commentator would have us deny the Mosaic authorship of the blessing of the tribes, and we have seen that every one of them is without force in that direction, while the majority of them have great force in favor of the opposite conclusion.

§7. EVIDENCE IN THE HISTORICAL BOOKS.

In this section we shall follow chiefly the line of argument pursued by W. Robertson Smith. Our quotations, except when otherwise designated, shall be from his *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*.

1. Joshua and Chronicles Set Aside. Our author, in common with all of the destructive critics, while arguing from the historical books, deliberately sets aside, as unworthy of credence, the Book of Joshua, which covers the earliest period after Moses, and the Books of Chronicles, which cover the whole historic period from the death of King Saul to the close of the exile. With respect to the former, Professor Smith says:

In working out this part of the subject, I shall confine your attention in the first instance to the books earlier than the time of Ezra, and in particular to the histories in the "earlier prophets," from Judges to II. Kings. I exclude the Book of Joshua because it in all its parts hangs closely together with the Pentateuch. The difficulties which it presents are identical with those of the books of Moses, and can only be explained in connection with the critical analysis of the law (235).

The reason given for this exclusion is vague enough. The book does hang closely together with the Pentateuch, and this is a necessity if its records are true, seeing that it describes the introduction into Canaan of the people to whom the laws in the preceding books had professedly been given, and their experiences under these laws through one generation. But why this should be a reason for rejecting its testimony in respect to the existence of these laws, it seems that none but a critic with a foregone conclusion can see. Principal Cave

very justly pronounced it "an exclusion which looks very singularly like shelving, from the exigency of theory, an awkward series of facts which renders the theory suspect" (*I. O. T.*, 282). We will show, under a later section, that if this "awkward series of facts" actually occurred, the theory in question, both as to the law in Deuteronomy, and that in the middle books of the Pentateuch, is absolutely falsified. The exclusion of the testimony of this book is an admission, to say the least, that it furnishes no evidence in favor of the theory.

Of the Books of Chronicles our author has this to say:

The tendency of the Chronicler to assume that the institutions of his own age existed under the old kingdom makes his narrative useless for the purpose now in hand, where we are expressly concerned with the differences between ancient and modern usage (235).¹⁴

The words "useless for the purpose now in hand" are well chosen; for to one who is aiming to show differences between ancient and modern usage, a book which represents modern usage as being the same with ancient usage is, of course, "useless for the purpose in hand." It would seem, however, that to a writer who is seeking to learn whether such differences really exist or not, such a book is the very one he would find most useful, provided there are no other grounds for impeaching its testimony.

Here a footnote which I find in *Principles of Biblical Criticism*, by J. J. Lias (p. 65), is in point:

De Wette lets us into the secret of this hostility to Chronicles. "The whole Jewish history," he says, "on its most interesting and important side, that of religion and the manner of observing the

¹⁴ The destructive critics have no mercy on the Chronicler. Kuenen says: "It is quite certain now that about the year 300 B. C., or still later, he rewrote the history of Israel before the exile in a sacerdotal spirit, and, in so doing, violated historical truth throughout" (*Rel. of Israel*, I. 321). If he did worse in this respect, or one-tenth as bad as our modern scientific critics have done, the Lord have mercy on him. Wellhausen, among a number of severe remarks about him, says: "One might as well try to hear the grass growing as attempt to derive from such a source as this a historical knowledge of ancient Israel" (quoted by Alexander Stewart, *Lex M.*, 400). And one might as well attempt to smell the color of the grass as to derive such knowledge from such sources as the writings of Wellhausen.

worship of God, assumes quite a different shape when the accounts in Chronicles have been set aside." So also: "A multitude of troublesome proofs, difficult to deal with, of the existence of the Mosaic books in earlier times, vanish altogether." It is with De Wette that all these fierce attacks on Chronicles originate. And with charming naivete he has told us the reason.

Robertson Smith, and his English and American followers, do not venture to give De Wette's reason for accepting his conclusion, but the one which they do give is no reason at all, and this suggests the inevitable suspicion that his reason is really theirs.

2. In the Book of Nehemiah. We shall now take up, in an order of our own, the several passages in the historical books by which our author seeks to prove that the Pentateuchal law was not known or enforced until the time of Ezra. He admits freely that the law in the hands of Ezra was "practically identical with our present Hebrew Pentateuch," and he affirms that from that time forward it was "the municipal and religious code of Israel" (43).¹⁵ This fact should be distinctly noted and remembered by students of criticism. But he makes use of a passage in Nehemiah to prove that this had not been the case previously. He says:

The people in their confession very distinctly state that their law had not been observed by their ancestors, or their rulers, or their priests, up to that time (Neh. ix. 34); and in particular it is mentioned that the feast of tabernacles had never been observed with the ceremonial prescribed in the law from the time that the Israelites occupied Canaan under Joshua (Neh. viii. 17).

What is here said of the confession made by the people, if it has any bearing upon the question at issue, is intended to make the impression that their ancestors had not kept the law because they did not have it. But the opposite is the truth; for their words are: "Neither have our kings, our princes, our priests, nor our fathers kept thy law, nor hearkened unto thy commandments and thy testimonies wherewith

¹⁵ This is conceded even by the radicals. Wellhausen says: "Substantially at least, Ezra's law-book, in the form in which it became the Magna Charta of Judaism in or about the year 444, must be regarded as practically identical with our Pentateuch, although many minor amendments and very considerable additions may have been made at a later date" (Art. "Israel," *Encyc. Brit.*, p. 428, c. 2).

thou didst testify against them." How could the law testify against them, if they did not have it? They had the law then, but had not kept it; and by "the law" is meant the law then in the hands of Ezra, from which he had been reading, and Professor Smith admits, as we have just seen, that it was "practically our present Hebrew Pentateuch." Moreover, in an earlier part of this prayer (verses 13, 14), the Levites who are praying, not the whole people, as Smith seems to think, declare that God had given this law, with its commandments and statutes, at Mount Sinai, and by the hand of his servant Moses. In their confession of sins, they confess precisely what we now read in their sacred books from their own day back to the beginning. This prayer, which fills the ninth chapter of Nehemiah, is an exhibition of most remarkable historical knowledge on the part of those who offered it; for it begins with the call of Abraham, and it touches, in passing down the stream of time, all the salient features of Israel's history without a break in the chronology, or a single mistake in the facts. As you read it you see that their memories pass from one book to another in such a manner as is most rare even in these days of printed Bibles. Not one preacher or priest in a thousand could, to this day, in an extempore prayer, do the same. They knew what they say about the giving of the law, and about the way in which their fathers had disobeyed it, because they had committed to memory the facts from the same books which we now read. The agreement could not otherwise be so perfect.

Professor Smith deals unfairly also with the other passage which he cites. Instead of saying that the feast of tabernacles "had never been observed with the ceremonial prescribed by the law from the time that Israel occupied Canaan under Joshua," they speak of *only one part* of the ceremonial, that of living in booths made of the boughs of trees; and say that this had not been observed before *since the days of Joshua*, not "from the time that Israel occupied Canaan under Joshua." There is a difference here of at least twenty-

five years. It is implied that during those twenty-five years they did dwell in booths during this feast, but had not done so since. Nehemiah speaks of this as an infraction of the law, which it could not have been if this law had not existed from the days of Joshua. Furthermore, the words used imply that in the days of Joshua this ceremonial had been observed; for otherwise the remark that it had not been since then would have no force. A little thought will show that while there was no adequate excuse for this neglect, there was an extenuation for it. The number of green boughs which would be necessary every fall for the whole male population of Israel to build booths would soon strip all of the trees in the vicinity of Jerusalem of the boughs which they could spare and still live; and the fear of thus denuding and destroying fruit and forest trees alike, sufficiently accounts for the neglect. It furnishes a much more plausible excuse for this omission than Israel could plead for many others of which they were guilty. And even now they were compelled, after the surrounding trees had enjoyed an uninterrupted growth during the whole period of the captivity, to strip olive-trees, both tame and wild, and palm-trees, as well as those called "thick trees."

3. In the Book of Judges. Robertson Smith is very radical in his position on the evidence of this book, and he argues it with a persistency equaled only by his inaccuracy in representing the facts. In opening the discussion, he says:

We need not dwell on the fact that the whole religion of the time of the Judges was Levitically false. . . . Acts of true worship, which Jehovah accepted as the tokens of a penitent heart, and answered by deeds of deliverance, were habitually associated with illegal sanctuaries (*O. T.*, 267).

In support of these assertions he presents five specifications:

(1) At Bochim the people wept at God's rebuke, and sacrificed to the Lord (*Judg.* ii. 5).

We have already answered, in another connection, that the location of Bochim is not known, that it may have been hard by the tent of meeting, and that there is not the slightest evidence that the sacrifice was not offered on the altar made by Moses.

(2) Deborah and Barak opened their campaign at the sanctuary of Kadesh.

There is not a syllable in the text to support this assertion, neither is there the slightest hint that such a sanctuary ever existed. This is an instance of manufacturing Scripture. Let the reader search the account in Judges iv., and Deborah's song in chapter v., to verify this statement.

(3) Jehovah himself commanded Gideon to build an altar and do sacrifice at Ophrah, and this sanctuary still existed in the days of the historian (Judg. vi. 24).

But if Jehovah commanded it, this made it lawful. Moreover, the occasion of this command, which was to rebuke the idolatry of the people of Ophrah, by tearing down their altar of Baal, and defiantly building an altar to Jehovah in its place, justified the irregularity. This end would not have been accomplished by sending Gideon to Shiloh with his offering. In the statement that "this sanctuary still existed in the days of the historian," Smith uses the word "sanctuary" where the text says "this altar." The statement of the text was suggested by the fact that though the people of Ophrah were so enraged when the altar was built that they wanted to kill the man who tore down Baal's altar and erected this, yet they let it stand. There is not the slightest hint that it became a sanctuary; so here again our critic manufactures evidence.

(4) Jephthah spake all his words "before the Lord" at Mizpah or Ramoth-Gilead, the ancient sanctuary of Jacob, before he went forth in the spirit of the Lord to overthrow the Ammonites (Judg. xi. 11, 29; Gen. xxxi. 45, *seq.*).

But neither Mizpah nor Ramoth-Gilead ever was a "sanctuary of Jacob." He was overtaken at Mizpah by Laban; he erected a rude monument there to mark a spot beyond which neither he nor Laban should ever pass to harm the other, and he offered a sacrifice on the occasion; but he never visited the spot again, and there is not the slightest ground for styling it a sanctuary. Moreover, Jephthah could speak all his words "before the Lord," by calling the Lord to witness what he said, without going to a sanctuary for the purpose.

(5) Jephthah's vow before the campaign was a vow to do sacrifice at Mizpah.

It was not. The place where the sacrifice was to be offered is not mentioned. He may have intended, so far as the text either affirms or intimates, to offer it at Shiloh, or at any other place which an outlaw such as he had been might select.

Here are now the five specifications by which we are to be convinced that "the whole religion of the time of the Judges was Levitically false, and that acts of true worship were habitually associated with illegal sanctuaries." Suppose that all of the five were established as instances in point, what would they prove? Simply, that within a period of three centuries acceptable worship was offered three times at illegal sanctuaries. And how far would this go toward proving that this was *habitual* in these three centuries? What proof would it furnish that "the whole religion of the time was Levitically false"? Were Deborah and Barak and Gideon and Jephthah the only persons who worshiped God with true worship in that three hundred years? What was going on at Shiloh, where the tabernacle stood from the days of Joshua till the death of Eli, and whither some true men like Elkanah were even at the last date still going up yearly with their families and their victims? How shall we characterize such perversity in manufacturing evidence?

But our disciple of Wellhausen perseveres in his line of argument and we must follow him still further. He says:

All God's acts of grace mentioned in the Book of Judges, all his calls to repentance, and all the ways in which he appears from time to time to support his people, and to show himself their living God, ready to forgive in spite of their disobedience, are connected with this same local worship (267).

In this statement there is not a word of truth. The only specifications given to support it, or that can be given, are the five just disposed of above.

Again he says of this period of the Judges:

The call to repentance is never a call to put aside the local sanctuaries and worship only before the ark of Shiloh (*ib.*).

This is true; and it is true because there were no such sanctuaries then in existence. The calls to repentance were

calls in reference to the illegal worship of the gods of Canaan. This is true in every instance, as any reader of the book may see for himself. If any one doubts it, he can test the statement in an hour by glancing through the Book of Judges. And in thus calling the people back from heathen worship, they were called to worship at Shiloh just as surely as the true worship was still conducted there, of which there can be no reasonable doubt.

4. The Ritual at Shiloh. We next consider what our critic has to say about the service at Shiloh. He admits that throughout the period of Judges "the ark was settled at Shiloh," and that "a legitimate priesthood ministered before it." But he declares that "the ritual was not that of the Levitical law" (268). In his effort to make good his declaration, the number of alleged discrepancies between the two rituals which he tries to exhibit, is not so great as his own misrepresentations of the Shiloh ritual. He first says:

Shiloh was visited by pilgrims from the surrounding country of Ephraim, not three times a year according to the Pentateuchal law, but at an annual feast (*ib.*).

The only foundation for this statement is the case of Elkanah, described in the first chapter of I. Samuel. It so happens that Elkanah came from the country of Ephraim, but how does Professor Smith know that the "pilgrims" who came thither were from the same tribe? He says they came at "an annual feast." But this is not authorized by the text. Elkanah's annual visit was not to attend one of the annual feasts, but, as the text says, "to worship and to sacrifice to Jehovah of hosts in Shiloh." You could not know from the text that any other than Elkanah's own family were present on the occasion of any of his visits (see i. 3, 21, 24, 25). The assertion that the "pilgrims" did not go up "three times a year according to the Pentateuchal law," is groundless. For aught that Professor Smith knew when he penned this, or could know, Elkanah himself may have gone to the annual feasts in addition to going for his own family devotions. The annual feasts, according to the Pentateuchal law, were occasions

for the national celebration of great events. Our critic has here committed the blunder of taking the annual visits of one devout man to worship God with his family, as proof of what Israel as a people did or did not do; and he has selected his example from the time when, according to the text itself, the people in general had been forced to "abhor the offering of Jehovah" by the disgraceful conduct of the priests. By this state of degeneracy and corruption he would have us judge the service at Shiloh throughout the previous three hundred years.

We are next told, with reference to the so-called "annual feast" which Elkanah attended, that "this appears to have been a vintage feast, like the Pentateuchal feast of tabernacles; for it was accompanied by dances in the vineyards (Judg. xxi. 21); and, according to I. Sam. i. 20, 21, it took place when the new year came in; that is, the close of the agricultural year, which ended with the ingathering of the vintage (Ex. xxxiv. 22)." Here, again, the learned professor commits blunder after blunder. He has the girls of Judg. xxi. 21 dancing in the vineyards, the worst place on dry ground that they could find to dance in, whereas the text has the young men who were to steal the girls, *hid* in the vineyards. He supposes the feast to be that of the tabernacles held "at the close of the year which ended with the ingathering of the vintage," forgetting that in Palestine the grapes ripen in July, and the vintage follows immediately, while it is the olive gathering, and not the vintage, which ends the agricultural year. At that time the vines have dropped their leaves, and the vineyards would not afford a hiding-place for the young men who stole the dancing girls. This incident connects far more closely with the feast of Pentecost, when the vines were in full leaf, than with the feast of tabernacles, when they were bare.¹⁶ Again, he has the year closing at the time of Samuel's birth, "according to the correct rendering of I. Sam. i. 20, 21." As rendered in the Revised

¹⁶ Here Smith was misled by Kuenen, who expresses the same idea in *Religion of Israel*, II. 27.

Version, that text reads, "And it came to pass, when the time was come about, that Hannah conceived and bare a son." The clause, "when the time was come about," means the time for Hannah to conceive and bear a son. The "correct rendering," which Smith suggests, is, "when the new year came." Suppose we adopt it; what is the result? Only this: "It came to pass, when the new year came in, that Hannah conceived and bare a son." And how does this show that the feast at which Hannah *prayed* for a son, was the feast of tabernacles? A woman may pray for a son on the fourth of July, or any day of any month, and still not conceive and bear him till after the new year comes in. Finally, the blunder is committed of quoting Ex. xxxiv. 22, in support of the assertion that the agricultural year ended with "the ingathering of the vintage;" whereas the passage says nothing about the vintage. It says, "Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, even the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the end of the year." Professor Smith could not have been ignorant, for he was familiar with Palestine both from reading and from residing in it, that the last ingathering of the year is not that of the grapes, but, as we have said above, that of the olives. Next to the wheat harvest this is the most valuable harvest of the year.

Professor Smith asserts that the service at Shiloh was a local affair, attended only by "pilgrims from the surrounding country of Ephraim." If he had said this with reference to the time of Hannah's prayer, it is possible that he might have been correct; for this was the time at which the officiating priests had, by their covetous and beastly conduct, disgusted the people with the offerings of Jehovah. It was when Jehovah himself was on the eve of providentially destroying the whole family of Eli and divorcing the ark of his covenant from the tabernacle which they had defiled. But as a representation of the service at Shiloh as a whole, running back as it did through nearly three centuries, it is as false as it can be, and the passage in Judges which he cites, when the dancing

girls were stolen by the young Benjamites, is proof of this; for at the close of the incident it is said, "The children of Israel departed thence at that time, every man to his tribe and to his family, and they went out thence every man to his inheritance" (Judg. xxi. 24). This was while Phinehas was still alive (xx. 27), and it was therefore very soon after the death of Joshua; and it shows that then the people from the tribes in general came up to Shiloh to worship. Why judge the whole period from what we read at the end of it, rather than by the order established at the beginning? Was it because these facts were not known to the critic, or was it because they were very conveniently ignored?

Professor Smith next points out in detail the evidences that the ritual of Shiloh was not that of the Levitical law. He says (1) that—

Eli's sons would not burn the fat of the sacrifice till they had procured a portion of uncooked meat (I. Sam. ii. 12, *seq.*, Revised Version, margin). Under the Levitical ordinance this was perfectly regular; the worshiper handed over the priest's portion of the flesh along with the fat, and part of the altar ceremony was to wave it before Jehovah (Lev. vii. 30, *seq.*, x. 15). But at Shiloh the claim was viewed as illegal and highly wicked (*O. T.*, 269).

There is just enough inaccuracy in this representation, both of the law and the custom of Eli's sons, to make out the discrepancy aimed at. The law as it stands in the passages cited from Leviticus required the offerer of the peace-offering to give to the priest the fat and the breast and right thigh. The priest was to burn the fat as the Lord's part, then wave before the Lord the breast and thigh as his own part. The rest of the animal was cooked and eaten by the offerer and his family. To deal fairly with the case, we should suppose that thus far the sons of Eli proceeded according to the law; and that they did so is implied in what follows; for the first offense charged against them in the text, but wholly unnoticed by our critic, is, that while the offerer was boiling his portion of the flesh the priest's servant came with a flesh-hook of three teeth and stuck it into the vessel, and whatever it brought up he took away. This is evidently treated as an exaction beyond what

the priest was entitled to. The second charge is, that before they burned the fat, that is, before they gave the Lord his portion, they made another exaction by demanding from the offerer some of his portion of the raw flesh. Here were two exactions beyond what the law allowed; and the law has to be presupposed in order to see the unlawfulness of the priest's conduct. The bearing of the passage, then, is the reverse of what is claimed by the critic. It shows that the law was known, by showing the ways in which it was violated. Furthermore, without the pre-existence of the Levitical law, how would these priests, or the worshipers, have known anything about the fat, or about the priests' portion and the people's portion of the peace-offerings? How could anybody have thought that "the sin of the young men was very great before Jehovah," if Jehovah had not given the law which they were violating? A wicked violation of the law necessarily presupposes a knowledge of the law.

(2) The ark stood, not in the tabernacle, but in a temple with door-posts and folding doors, which were thrown open during the day (I. Sam. i. 9; iii. 15).

True, the structure in which the ark stood is in the first of these passages called "the temple of Jehovah." In the second it is called "the house of Jehovah." But in ii. 22 it is called by its old name, "the tent of meeting." If it was the tent of meeting, this constituted it the house of Jehovah and the temple of Jehovah; for any structure devoted to the worship of God bears properly both of the latter titles.

(3) But the structure here called a temple had "door-posts and folding doors," whereas the tent of meeting had only "an embroidered linen hanging in front."

True, but it is still, according to the same writer, "the tent of meeting." What follows? That the structure is no longer the tent of meeting? or that the tent of meeting now has, in addition to its front curtain, a wooden protection with doors to open and shut—doors which are closed at night, but which leave the front as it was from the beginning when they are opened in the daytime?

This is all; and it is not strange that in the course of three centuries since this tent was constructed, a wooden protection, whether with or without divine authority, was erected in front of it. This has nothing to do with the "ritual of Shiloh."

(4) In the evening a lamp was burned in the temple (I. Sam. iii. 3), but, contrary to the Levitical prescription (Ex. xxvii. 21; Lev. xxiv. 3), the light was not kept up all night, but was allowed to go out after the ministers of the temple lay down to sleep (*ib.*).

This neglect is easily accounted for, when we remember the avarice and general wickedness of Eli's sons who were then the active "ministers of the temple;" but how, if this was not the old tent of meeting in which the Levitical law required the lamp to burn all night, can it be accounted for that it was burned even a part of the night? Here, again, a partial neglect of the law shows the previous existence of the law.

(5) Access to the temple was not guarded on the rules of Levitical sanctity. According to I. Sam. iii. 3, Samuel, as a servant of the sanctuary, who had special charge of the doors (verse 15), actually slept "in the temple of Jehovah where the ark of God was."

Yes, he actually slept in the temple where the ark of God was; and if this means that he slept in the same apartment of the temple in which the ark was, there was certainly a violation of the Levitical law. But how could this be thought strange under the management of such priests as Hophni and Phinehas? Nothing was too irregular or unlawful to meet their sanction if it suited their whims or their convenience. If it is objected that Eli was in supreme control, the objection is set aside by the fact that Eli's sons had complete control of Eli.

But does this text mean that Samuel slept in the holy of holies, the inner room of the sanctuary? It does not so assert; for if he slept in the holy place, or in the wooden structure which had been erected in front, he would still be said to sleep in the temple of the Lord. We have similar phraseology in reference to the temple in the time of Christ. Whatever was done in the Jewish court, or in the Gentile court, was said to be done in the temple. The fair construction of the text, the construction which was always put upon it till

destructive critics commenced their work, is merely that Samuel slept in some part of the structure in which it was thought proper for a little boy to sleep.

(6) It is taken for granted that Samuel became a priest at once. As a child he ministers before Jehovah, wearing the ephod which the law confines to the high priest, and not only this, but the high priestly mantle—I. Sam. ii. 18, 19 (270).

I wonder if Professor Smith never saw a little boy dressed up in the uniform of a British officer—buttons, feathers, gold lace and all? Did he argue from that that those who dressed him so took it for granted that he was already a major-general? Why, then, charge such folly on little Samuel's mother when she dressed him in imitation of a priest? There is no evidence that he wore either the ephod or the mantle except in his childhood, when he could not officiate as a priest, even if he had been the son of a priest.

(7) And, above all, it is noteworthy that the service of the great day of expiation could not have been legitimately performed in the temple of Shiloh, where there was no awful seclusion of the ark in an inner *adyton*, veiled from every eye, and inaccessible on ordinary occasions to every foot (*ib.*).

This is true only on the supposition that Samuel slept in the most holy place, of which, as we have said above, there is no proof. The inner sanctuary may have been as closely veiled as ever before and the child may have slept in some other part of the "house of Jehovah."

(8) These things strike at the root of the Levitical system of access to God. But of them the prophet who came to Eli has nothing to say. He confines himself to the extortions of the younger priests (*ib.*).

On the contrary, we have seen that not one of "these things" strikes at the root of the Levitical system, except the misconduct of the priests; and it follows that when the prophet rebuked Eli for this alone, he did precisely right. The proposition that the ritual of Shiloh was not the ritual of the Levitical law, has, we now see, no more truth in it than the one preceding it, that "the whole religion of the time of the judges was Levitically false."

After the removal of the ark from the tent of meeting in Shiloh, and its stay of seven months in the land of the Philistines, it remained twenty years in Kiriath-jearim before we learn anything more of the altar service in Israel. During that period the Philistines held control of central Palestine, and Samuel was growing up from childhood to manhood. He then took control of public affairs, and acted in the threefold capacity of judge, prophet and priest until Saul was fully inducted into his office as king (I. Sam. vii. 1-xii. 25). He did not restore the ark to its place in the tent of meeting, neither did he ever return to the latter or restore its priesthood. In view of these facts, Robertson Smith remarks:

The truth is that Samuel did not know of a systematic and exclusive system of sacrificial ritual confined exclusively to the sanctuary of the ark (*O. T.*, 274).

The truth of this assertion we have sufficiently discussed in Section 3.

But while we have sufficiently refuted in Section 3 the arguments of the critics, there is another side to the evidence drawn from this part of Israel's history. Robertson Smith himself mentions a number of facts connected with it, the true bearing of which on the general question he fails to observe. He cites the facts that Saul "destroyed necromancy;" that "he was keenly alive to the sin of eating flesh with the blood;" that a man ceremonially unclean "might not sit at his table" (*ib.*, 271). But how did Saul know these things, every one of which was a subject of Levitical legislation, if the Levitical law had not yet been given? "The priests," he says, "of the house of Eli were at Nob, where there was a regular sanctuary with shewbread, and no less than eighty-five priests wearing a linen ephod" (272). But how could they have a regular sanctuary with shewbread, if the law in which this unique kind of bread to be eaten by priests alone originated, had not yet been given? The parts of the law which were still observed during periods of religious anarchy were precisely such as to prove that the law had been given; for they were such as could not spring up independently.

5. Offerings Made by Saul and David. Professor Smith specifies, on pages 274 and 275 of his work, several other irregularities which prove ignorance, as he argues, of the Levitical law:

(1) Saul's sacrifice at Gilgal (I. Sam. xiii. 8), which he says was not regarded as a sin because he was not of the house of Aaron, but because he did not wait for the presence of Samuel; and in this connection he alleges that it was then the privilege of every Israelite to offer sacrifice. It is true that Saul sinned by not waiting for the prophet; but there is no evidence whatever that he personally officiated at the altar. Immediately after the sacrifice he moved his little army back up to Gibeah, whence they had fled seven days before from the Philistines, and when he reached that place Ahitub the priest was with him, and was called on to inquire of the Lord (xiii. 15, 16; xiv. 1-3, 18, 19). How can Professor Smith know that he did not come up from Gilgal with Saul, and that Saul did not offer the burnt offerings and peace-offerings at Gilgal by his hand, and not by his own? Has a critic the right to assert that which he can not know to be true, and that, too, when the probabilities are against his assertions? This he does, not only in Saul's individual case, but in the statement that at that time to offer sacrifice in the same sense was the privilege of every Israelite; for this statement can not be made good by a single specification; and it is falsified by the fact that Elkanah, and the people in general, until disgusted by the priests at Shiloh, went to those priests, wicked as they were, to present their offerings.

(2) It is said of David:

When he brought up the ark to Jerusalem he wore the priestly ephod, offered sacrifices in person, and, to make it quite clear that in all this he assumed a priestly function, he blessed the people as a priest in the name of Jehovah—II. Sam. vi. 14, 18 (*O. T.*, 274).

Here, again, it is assumed without the slightest warrant, that the sacrifices offered by David were offered by his own hand as a priest. On the contrary, Abiathar the priest was a constant companion of David, and had been ever since he

joined his company in the cave of Adullam, and the author of Chronicles says expressly that both he and Zadok the priest were with him when he moved the ark (I. Chron. xv. 11, 12). In this whole procedure the law was observed; for the ark was carried by its own bars on the shoulders of Levites, and the writer adds, "as Moses commanded according to the word of Jehovah" (verse 15). Critics very conveniently set this testimony aside by denying the truthfulness of the account; but this is only another example of applying historical criticism by denying history.

The ephod which he wore on this occasion was the linen outer garment, perfectly plain, of the common priest. It was the simplest garment which he could wear, and involved the laying aside of his royal apparel. It incurred the displeasure of Michal to see the king so humbly attired, and she exclaimed to him, "How glorious was the king of Israel to-day who uncovered himself to-day in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants." He answered her, "It was before Jehovah . . . I will be yet more vile than this, and will be base in my own sight" (II. Sam. vi. 20-23). He was not assuming the office of a priest, but was adopting their simple vesture in order to humble himself before Jehovah. As to his blessing the people in the name of Jehovah, it is absurd to represent this as a priestly function, as though a pious king might not call for God's blessing on his subjects. The critic's thought seems to have been born of the sacerdotalism of some modern churches, which in their exaltation of their clergy have fallen upon the idea that only a clergyman can properly pronounce the benediction at the close of a religious meeting.

6. The Priesthood of David's Sons. Robertson Smith continues:

In II. Sam. viii. 18 we read that David's sons were priests. This statement, so incredible on the traditional theory, has led our English version, following the Jewish tradition of the Targum, to change the sense, and substitute "chief rulers" for priests. But the Hebrew word means priests, and can not mean anything else (275).

If this is true, and if the word "priest" is here used in its ordinary sense, then unquestionably we have here one

instance of a violation of the Levitical law. Whether such a violation was to our English translators so "incredible" that they changed the sense, is another question. It is easy to imagine that they had not discovered what Professor Smith so positively asserts, that "the Hebrew word can mean nothing else." They may have supposed that, while priest is its primary meaning, it might have a secondary meaning, or it might be used as an honorary title. The bold assertion that it can mean nothing else, can scarcely be made truthfully of any word in any language. Take, for instance, the Hebrew word for father, which occurs about the same number of times with the word for priest. If you say that it means father, and "can mean nothing else," then you will make the prophet Elijah the father of Elisha; for the latter on one occasion addresses the former as "my father" (II. Kings ii. 12). If our translators, through fear lest some readers might suppose that this was the actual relationship between the two prophets, had ventured to substitute for this complimentary use of the word "father" the word "leader," or "master," and some modern critic, with a pet theory to support, had come forward with the affirmation that father and son was their relationship, and that the translators had thought this so incredible that they had changed the sense, we should have a case parallel to the one made out by Professor Smith. Or suppose that a Latin scholar, reading medieval Latin, should find that the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church of Rome were married men with children? He would miss the truth as Smith does in saying that David's sons were officiating priests. Yet again, should a Frenchman see a list of all the colonels in Kentucky, and find them to be five hundred in number, he might argue after Smith that a colonel means a commander of a regiment of soldiers, and it can mean nothing else; therefore the militia force of Kentucky includes five hundred regiments, or five hundred thousand men.

While Professor Smith is so confident as to the meaning of this word, I find another competent Hebrew scholar who represents it differently. He is the author of the Book of

Chronicles; and Hebrew was his vernacular. He had the Book of Samuel before him when he wrote, and he copied much from it; but when he came to the list of David's chief officers, instead of rendering the last clause, "David's sons were priests," he expresses it, "the sons of David were chief about the king" (I. Chron. xviii. 17; cf. II. Sam. viii. 18). Now, this was either a deliberate change of the text, of which the author of a sacred book ought not to be suspected, or it was a free rendering intended to express the meaning of the word "priest" in that connection. It shows that the word is employed in an unusual sense. The priests under the Levitical law were an order of nobility, having hereditary privileges not shared by others, and as there was no other rank or title of nobility in the early years of Israel by which the sons of the king might be distinguished, it was but natural to give them the honorary title of priest. If the people knew that they were not priests in reality, they would understand the title, as Romanists now do the title "Father," and as Kentuckians do the title "Colonel."

7. Solomon's Career. Continuing his argument, Professor Smith says:

But in fact the Book of Kings expressly recognizes the worship of the high places as legitimate up to the time when the temple was built—I. Kings iii. 2, *seq.* (*ib.*, 275).

Professor Smith ought not to have made this statement; for it flatly contradicts the passage which he cites, but does not quote. The passage reads thus: "Only the people sacrificed in high places, because there was no house built for the name of Jehovah until those days. And Solomon loved Jehovah, walking in the statutes of David his father. Only he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places." Here the praise of Solomon for loving God and walking in the statutes of his father, is discounted by the fact that he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places; and the remark that the people did the same is introduced by "only," to indicate that in this they did wrong. The Book of Kings, then, instead of expressly recognizing this worship as legitimate till the tem-

ple was built, expressly condemns it, and this Professor Smith would have known had he read carefully the text before he referred to it to prove the opposite. This method of citing the Scriptures is characteristic of this class of critics.

One would naturally suppose that, when we find Solomon constructing his temple, placing in it the ark of the covenant and the materials of the dismantled tent of meeting, and especially when he inaugurated the elaborate temple ritual, there would be an end at last to the denial that the Levitical law was yet in existence. But the same confident denials assail us here as in the previous history. Robertson Smith utters the voice of his fellow critics when he raises the question and answers it in the negative, "Was the founding of the temple on Zion undertaken as part of an attempt to give practical force to the Levitical system?" He declares that "the whole life of Solomon answers this question in the negative" (259). Let us see with what kind of evidence this startling proposition is supported:

1. He not only did not abolish the local sanctuaries, but he built new shrines, which stood till the time of Josiah, for the gods of the foreign wives whom, like his father David (II. Sam. iii. 3), he married against the Pentateuchal law—I. Kings xi.; II. Kings xxiii. 13 (259, 260).

If the proposition was that Solomon violated some of the statutes of the law, the facts here stated would be in point. That he did so needs no argument; it is set forth as emphatically by the author of the Book of Kings as it is by Robertson Smith. But how does the fact that he thus violated the law show that his founding of the temple was not an attempt to give practical force to the law? Many a man has erected buildings for the worship of God, and has failed to worship him, or has worshiped him very imperfectly. But the statement of facts here made demands modification. The only "local sanctuary" named in the text at which Solomon offered worship was the one at Gibeon, where the old tent of meeting then stood, with the brazen altar built by Moses in front of it; and this he moved into the "chambers" of the temple after

the latter was built. After the erection of the temple there is no evidence that either he or his subjects worshiped Jehovah at such places during his reign. His only departure from the law in this respect was the erection of heathen altars on the high place in front of Jerusalem, for the accommodation of his heathen wives. This is treated in the text as an apostasy from the system of worship represented by the temple. The same is true of his marriage with women belonging to the tribes with which Israel had been forbidden to intermarry. His commission of these sins, even the worst of them, is no proof that the service continually observed in the temple was any other than that prescribed in the Levitical law. Nothing has been more common in the history of religion than strictness of ritual service accompanied, in the same individual, by disregard of the weightier matters of the law.

2. And when the Book of Deuteronomy describes what a king of Israel must not be, it reproduces line for line the features of the court of Solomon—Deut. xvii. 16, *seq.* (260).

This is true of just *three* features of his court—his multiplication of horses, of wives, and of gold and silver. If it were proved that Deuteronomy was written after Solomon's reign, this would account for the correspondence; and if it were proved that it was written *before* his reign, *this* would account for it; for, as we have said before, Moses knew by the example of the Pharaohs that the maintenance of a large cavalry force was a disastrous drain upon the resources of a nation, and a constant temptation to war; that a great multiplication of wives, such as enabled Rameses II. to have sixty-nine sons and seventy daughters, was almost equally disastrous; and he knew that the attempt to amass great hoards of gold and silver would ordinarily involve extreme oppression of the people. In making laws, then, to govern the future king, should there ever be one, his natural good sense, even without the aid of inspiration, would lead him to say just what is said in Deuteronomy. As the coincidence, then, is adequately accounted for on either hypothesis, it is a fallacy of which scientific critics ought to be ashamed, to use it as proof of either.

3. The two brazen pillars which stood at the porch (I. Kings vii. 21) were not different from the forbidden *macceba*, or from the twin pillars that stood in front of Phœnician and Syrian sanctuaries (*ib.*).

How could Professor Smith know this? Did pillars or columns about all temples have the same significance? We know that those called obelisks, which stood by Egyptian temples, were lined with inscriptions in praise of the gods worshipped there, or of the kings who erected the temples; and we know that the Doric, Ionian or Corinthian columns connected with Greek temples had no such significance, but were purely ornamental. How was it with these two brazen pillars before the temple? There was not a letter of inscription on them. They were, from their nature and form, highly ornamental. Their combined names, *Jachin* and *Boaz*, meant, "He shall establish it in strength," and had reference, no doubt, to the firm establishment of God's worship in that house. What was there in this forbidden by the Levitical law, or the law in Deuteronomy? The argument would have been far more plausible if it had been directed against the two gigantic images of cherubim that stood in the oracle, overshadowing the ark with their outstretched wings. That device has some semblance to a violation of the Second Commandment; yet it showed how perfectly Solomon understood that commandment as not forbidding the making of images except when they were intended as objects of worship.

4. I. Kings ix. 25 can hardly bear any other sense than that the king officiated at the altar in person three times a year. That implies an entire neglect on his part of the strict law of separation between the legitimate priesthood and laymen (*ib.*).

That text reads thus: "Three times in a year did Solomon offer burnt offerings upon the altar which he built unto Jehovah, burning incense therewith upon the altar that was before Jehovah." How does this prove that he "officiated at the altar in person"? The very next sentence is, "And King Solomon made a navy of ships." Would a scientific critic say, This can hardly bear any other sense than that the king made these ships in person? I think not. Then, why stultify himself by applying to words connected with offerings a rule of interpreta-

tion which is absurd if applied to the same words in other connections? Elkanah, the father of Samuel, came up to Shiloh from year to year "to sacrifice unto Jehovah" (I. Sam. i. 3); why not say that he also officiated at the altar? The obvious answer is that the exigencies of criticism did not call for such a perversion in the case of Elkanah, but they did in the case of Solomon.

There is still another view of Solomon's career which we must not omit. The specifications just considered are the proof that the whole life of Solomon answers in the negative the question whether his founding of the temple was an attempt to enforce the Levitical system. But is the whole life of Solomon involved in these specifications? Why is it forgotten that he devoted seven years of his reign, vast sums of money, and the labor of 180,000 of his subjects, to the erection of a magnificent temple suitable only for the Levitical system of worship? For what form of worship was that temple divided into the holy and the most holy places, with the ark of the covenant in the latter, and the altar of incense, the candlesticks of gold, and the table of shewbread in the former, unless it was for the observance of the rites prescribed in the Levitical law? Why the altar of burnt offerings in front, and the lavers, and the inner court, except for the purpose of complying with the same law? And why did Solomon offer sacrifices on the altar three times every year, corresponding to the three annual festivals appointed in the Levitical law? Why did he, after the erection and dedication of the temple, refrain from offering sacrifices at any other spot until, in his old age, and under the persuasions of his many wives, he was induced to accommodate them by the erection of altars to their several gods? Herein lies, not the whole of Solomon's life, but an immensely greater part of it than in any of the departures from the Levitical law of which he was guilty. It would be difficult to conceive a more erroneous representation of the life of a great king than this that we have considered. And this is *historical criticism*—a criticism which sets aside history to make good its conclusions.

8. Evidence from Foreign Guards in the Temple. It is asserted by our critics that the body-guard of foreigners which from the time of David was kept by the kings of Judah, were admitted within the temple, and took the same part in the service which the Levitical law restricted to the Levites; and this is held as proof conclusive that this law had not yet been given. Robertson Smith expresses it thus:

As long as Solomon's temple stood, and even after the reforms of Josiah, the function of keeping the ward of the sanctuary, which by Levitical law is strictly confined to the house of Levi, on pain of death to the stranger who comes nigh (Num. iii. 38), devolved upon uncircumcised foreigners, who, according to the law, ought never to have been permitted to set foot within the courts of the temple (*ib.*, 263).

In another place he styles this "the admission of uncircumcised strangers as ministers in the sanctuary" (265). Had we not already found in his book so many misrepresentations of Scripture, we should be astonished at such a statement from the pen of such a scholar. Let us see what the facts in this case are.

It is not pretended that this irregularity was permitted by either David or Solomon. The first instance cited is under Rehoboam. Smith says, "The guard accompanied the king when he visited the sanctuary." The text says (I. Kings xiv. 28): "As often as the king went into the house of Jehovah, the guard bore them [the shields of brass which he had made after Shishlak had taken away the shields of gold], and brought them back into the guard chamber." It is not here said, nor is it implied, that the guard "went into the house of Jehovah." The Sultan of Turkey is accompanied by a military guard as often as he goes to the mosque; but when he enters the mosque the guard remains outside. How does any man know that this was not the case with Rehoboam's guard?

Leaping from this passage in I. Kings to II. Kings xi. 19, Professor Smith's next proof is the fact that "the temple gate leading to the palace was called the gate of the foot-guards." What of that? Does it prove that the foot-guards passed in and out through this gate, or is it just as probable that it was so called because they habitually halted and waited at this gate

while the king was worshipping inside? The name of the gate does not imply that the guards ever passed through it. Again, it is asserted that this royal body-guard "was also the temple guard, going in and out in courses every week," and that when the priest Jehoiada crowned the young king Jehoash, he "was surrounded by the foreign body-guard, who formed a circle about the altar and the front of the shrine, in the holiest part of the temple court."

This is all based on what is said about the Carites ("captains" in A. V.) in the account of the crowning of Jehoash by Jehoiada. But the Carites, generally supposed to be the foreign body-guard, are mentioned only twice in the proceedings, and in both instances they are expressly distinguished from the temple guard. In the first instance it is said that Jehoiada sent and fetched the captains over hundreds, of the Carites and of the guard, and brought them into the house of Jehovah, and made a covenant with them, and took an oath of them in the house of Jehovah, and showed them the king's son (verse 4). In the second instance it is said of Jehoiada, "He took the captains over hundreds, and the Carites, and the guard, and all the people of the land; and they brought down the king from the house of Jehovah, and came by the way of the gate of the guard, unto the king's house" (verse 19). In both of these instances the Carites and the guard are two distinct bodies—as distinct as each is from "all the people." To say, then, that the Carites were at this time the temple guard, is to speak not only without authority, but in contradiction to the text. This perversion of the text is the more inexcusable from the fact that the previous history informs us unmistakably of whom the temple guard consisted. It was the section of Levites who were set apart to this service by David under the name of porters (gate-keepers). A full account of their appointment, and of the rules governing their service, is given in I. Chron. xxvi. 1-19. I suppose that Professor Smith and his critical predecessors failed to recognize the real temple

guard, because of having rejected as untrue this passage in Chronicles. If so, this is but another instance of setting aside a piece of unimpeached history in order to save a theory.

In the first of these two instances the Carites were among those brought into the house of Jehovah, and to whom Jehoiada showed the king; but it does not appear whether this was in the outer court, into which Gentiles were admitted, or the inner court, into which only the circumcised were admitted. If the latter, then there was an infraction of the law on this subject, provided the Carites were uncircumcised. If they were circumcised (and their long continuance in the service of the kings of Judah would naturally lead to their being circumcised), they had the same right of admission into the inner court as the Jews. If they were not, Jehoiada might well excuse himself for admitting them there when the life of the king, his own life, and the lives of all who entered into the covenant, were at stake. Indeed, the continuance of the house of David on the throne, according to God's promise, was at stake, as all of his male offspring in the line of inheritance, except this child, had been slaughtered by Athaliah. In such a death-struggle a man of Jehoiada's decision and courage could not fail to brush aside any matter of mere ritual that stood in his way. If, then, all that is logically assumed by our critics in reference to his use of the Carites on this occasion were true, and if the law excluding foreigners from the inner court was in his hand, still there can be no doubt that Jehoiada would have proceeded as he did. The incident furnishes not the slightest ground for denying his knowledge of the Levitical law.

In this connection Professor Smith mentions, as further evidence that the Levitical law was not yet known, the fact that neither the sin-offering nor the trespass-offering is once mentioned before the captivity, and that "sin-money and trespass-money" were given to the priests. He pronounces this last custom "nothing but a gross case of simony" (263 f.). Here he betrays an unaccountable ignorance of both the his-

tory and the law. For whence came the "sin-money and the trespass-money" except from the sin-offerings and the trespass-offerings? What is the meaning of the very text on which his assertions are based; viz.: "The money for the guilt-offerings, and the money for the sin-offerings, was not brought into the house of Jehovah: it was the priests'" (II. Kings xii. 16)? This is a mention of these two offerings as existing before the captivity, and in admitting what the writer of Kings says about the use made of the money, our critic is estopped from denying what he says about the source of the money. And what does the law say about this money? It expressly provides that when a man committed a trespass in holy things, he should bring to the priest a ram for a guilt-offering, and one-fifth of its value in money, which was to be the priest's (Lev. v. 14-16). It further provides that when the trespass was against a fellow man, he was to make restitution in full, and add a fifth part. This fifth part was to go to the injured person, if alive, and to his heirs, if he was dead; but if no heirs were known, it was given to the priest who officiated. Here are now two instances in which "sin-money and trespass-money" was to be given to the priests, and there is not a single provision of the law requiring it, as Professor Smith asserts, to go into the Lord's treasury.

In the same connection, strange to say, our critic brings forward as proof of his thesis, the sacrilege committed by Ahaz in setting up an idolatrous altar in the house of the Lord, and the ready compliance of the priest Urijah in having it made and set up under the king's order. He must have felt hard pressed for evidence when he resorted to such as this. Why did he not bring forward the worship of false gods by Ahaz and the sacrifice of his own son, as proof that the Ten Commandments were unknown at that time? It would have been as logical. And so it would be to bring up the infamous crimes of the apostate Julian to prove that the Christian religion was not yet known in his day. The sacrilege committed by Ahaz consisted, in part, in the changes which he made about the

temple in violation of the Levitical law, in accordance with which the temple service had been inaugurated. As to the priest Urijah, he is not the only priest, whether of the Jewish or any other religion, who has violated law at the command of a wicked king rather than lose his place or his head.

Similar to this is the argument based on Solomon's deposition of Abiathar as high priest and the substitution of Zadok. Professor Smith styles it "subornation of the priesthood to the palace carried so far that Abiathar is deposed from the priesthood, and Zadok, who was not of the priestly family of Shiloh, set in his place, by a mere fiat of King Solomon" (266 f.). But Abiathar had been guilty of treason, the penalty of which was death, and deposition from office was a merciful commutation. Solomon said to him: "Thou art worthy of death: but I will not at this time put thee to death, because thou bearest the ark of the Lord God before David my father, and because thou wast afflicted in all wherein my father was afflicted" (I. Kings ii. 26). As to Zadok, it is true, as Professor Smith says, that he was not of the priestly family of Shiloh, which family, in accordance with the prediction of Samuel, had now been deprived of the priesthood, but he did belong to another branch of the family of Aaron, being descended from Kohath (I. Chron. vi. 1-12). It is constantly affirmed by destructive critics that Zadok was not of the priestly family; but, in order to do so, they set aside his genealogy in Chronicles, our only source of information on the subject (266, note).

In the paragraph last quoted, Professor Smith falls into the common error of supposing that the Israelites were forbidden to intermarry with foreigners. He says: "The exclusive sanctity of the nation was not understood in a Levitical sense; for not only Solomon, but David himself, intermarried with heathen nations" (266). This prohibition had reference only to the tribes of Canaan (Ex. xxxiv. 11-16; Deut. vii. 1-3); consequently the people were left as free to intermarry with other nations as they had been before the law was given. Indeed, the Book of Deuteronomy contains an express provi-

sion for the marriage of Hebrews to foreign women taken captive in war, which were usually reduced to slavery (xxi. 10-14). David, therefore, did not violate the Levitical law in marrying, though Solomon did (I. Kings xi. 1, 2). If it is still argued that Solomon's course in this respect proves that he was ignorant of the Levitical law, you may just as well argue that his participation in idolatry is proof that he knew nothing of the Decalogue, or even of the First Commandment. It is a new thing under the sun to argue that violations of a law by lawless men furnish proof that the law was not known to exist. This is "scientific criticism"!

9. The Toleration of High Places. The last of Professor Smith's specifications from the historical books which we shall notice is expressed in the following words:

The priests of the popular high places were recognized priests of Jehovah, and, instead of being punished as apostates, they received support and a certain status in the temple (xxiii. 9). We now see the full significance of the toleration of the high places by the earlier kings of Judah. They were not known to be any breach of the religious constitution of Israel (259).

What is here said of the priests of the high places is true only of so many of them as were priests of Jehovah; that is, descendants of Aaron. No heathen priests were ever admitted to support or to a "status in the temple." The statement that priests of Jehovah who had officiated in the high places were not punished by Josiah is a contradiction of the very passage (xxiii. 9) cited in support of it. It reads: "Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of Jehovah in Jerusalem, but they did eat unleavened bread among their brethren." This, as we showed in a former discussion of this passage, was the Levitical law for all priests who were disqualified for the functions of their office. Josiah dealt with them as the law required sons of Aaron to be dealt with who were defective in bodily parts. If this was not punishing them as apostates, it was inflicting on them the penalty of the law, and the only penalty which the law prescribed for disqualified priests.

But, in proof of his proposition, Professor Smith refers to the toleration of the high places by the earlier kings of Judah, and he especially cites the example of Jehoash in tolerating them while he was directed by the high priest Jehoiada (II. Kings xii. 2, 3). He may as well have said, tolerated by Jehoiada; for as Jehoash began his reign at seven years of age, Jehoiada had complete control of affairs for at least ten or twelve years. But that faithful priest had enough on his hands without undertaking what King Hezekiah undertook, but failed to accomplish. When Athaliah slew, as she thought, every male of the royal family in order to secure to herself an undisputed reign, Jehoiada and his wife, at the imminent peril of their lives, concealed the infant Jehoash, and kept him concealed till the day that he brought him out and crowned him king. During these six years his own life and that of the child both hung upon a thread that was liable to break at any moment. And when, at last, he had crowned the child, and brought about the death of Athaliah, it would be idle to suppose that he was out of danger. If Athaliah had any friends, and she certainly had among those who had followed her in the worship of Baal, they necessarily looked upon Jehoiada as a usurper, if not an assassin, and might be suspected constantly of conspiring against him. Had he added to these enemies all the worshipers at the high places, together with the priests who served at these altars and gained their livelihood by it, he and the young king might have perished after all. Had the latter been slain in his boyhood, the house of David would have been brought to an end, and the promise of God to David would have been broken. Well might the good priest, then, be contented with what he did accomplish until the king whom he had saved could take the reins of government into his own hands.

Before we can accept the closing statement of the extract last made from Professor Smith, that until the time of Josiah the high places were not known to be any breach of the religious constitution of Israel, two questions must be satisfactorily answered: First, Why does the author of the Book of Kings

reproach every good king of Judah, from Asa to Hezekiah, for not destroying the high places? The answer usually given, that this author wrote after the Book of Deuteronomy was discovered, and throws back what he learned from that book into the earlier history, is to prefer a charge which has no shadow of proof. It is to bring this charge against an author who had a better opportunity to know the facts in the case than has any modern critic. On the critical hypothesis of the late date of Deuteronomy, this author would have known whence he obtained his own knowledge that the high places were unlawful, and he would have known perfectly, what the modern critic can only conjecturally assert, that the historical documents anterior to the discovery of Deuteronomy which he used in compiling his history contained not a hint of unlawfulness in the high places; and to have written about them as he does would have been deliberately falsifying the record. If the evident honesty of the author is not sufficient to protect him from such a charge, he should be at least protected by the absence of any motive for such perversity. No critic has yet pointed out, even conjecturally, such a motive. Until one is found, and until its existence in the mind of the author is demonstrated, let the tongue of detraction be silenced.

The second question to be answered by those who deny that the high places were known to be unlawful till the Book of Deuteronomy was brought out by Hilkiah, is this: Why, then, did King Hezekiah, who died seventy-five years earlier, make an honest and persistent effort to destroy them all? The author of Kings answers this question indirectly, but explicitly, when he says: "He did that which was right in the eyes of Jehovah, according to all that his father David had done. He removed the high places, and brake the pillars, and cut down the Asherah: and he brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made; for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it; and he called it Nehushtan [a piece of brass]. He trusted in Jehovah the God of Israel; so that after him there was none like him among all the kings of

Judah, nor among them that were before him" (II. Kings xviii. 1-5). Here the answer is given and repeated, that the reason why he removed the high places, and broke up other abuses of a similar character, was because he trusted in Jehovah, doing that which was right in his eyes. Undoubtedly, then, unless we here again charge the author of Kings with false representation, Hezekiah knew that the high places were not right in the eyes of Jehovah; and this he could not have known without Jehovah's law on the subject.

We have now reviewed the evidence for the late date of Deuteronomy which destructive critics claim to find in the older historical books. We have found none that is really such, but much of the so-called evidence the bearing of which is in the opposite direction. In view of the extreme fallaciousness of these arguments, it is startling to read at the close of the lecture from which we have quoted, this statement:

In truth the people of Jehovah never lived under the law, and the dispensation of divine grace never followed its pattern, till Israel had ceased to be a nation. The history of Israel refuses to be measured by the traditional theory as to the origin and function of the Pentateuch (*O. T.*, 277).

This statement would be unaccountable but for the well-known ease with which acute minds, when committed to a theory, can deceive themselves.

§8. EVIDENCE FROM THE EARLY PROPHETS.

It is argued with the greatest confidence by destructive critics that the prophets who lived and wrote before the Babylonian exile, betray such ignorance of the Levitical law as demonstrates its non-existence, and such ignorance of the distinctive laws of Deuteronomy as demonstrates its non-existence till its discovery by Hilkiah. W. Robertson Smith, following close in the track of Wellhausen, presents the argument so elaborately that we shall let him be, in the main, our guide. His proposition, in its briefest and most comprehensive form, is this:

The theology of the prophets before Ezekiel has no place for priestly sacrifice and ritual (*O. T.*, 295).

He does not hold that the prophets had "any objection to sacrifice and ritual in the abstract," but he claims that "they deny that these things are of positive divine institution, or have any part in the scheme on which Jehovah's grace is administered in Israel. Jehovah, they say, has not enjoined sacrifice" (*ib.*). Wellhausen goes further, and says: "The prophet (Hosea) had never once dreamed of the possibility of cultus being made the subject of Jehovah's directions" (quoted by Baxter in *Sanctuary and Sacrifice*, 179). Again Wellhausen says: "According to the universal opinion of the pre-exilic period, the cultus is indeed of very old (to the people), very sacred usage, but not a Mosaic institution" (*ib.*, 180).

In order to make good these assertions, our critics begin with Elijah and Elisha, and pass on to the writing prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah and Jeremiah, in order.

1. Elijah and Elisha. Robertson Smith says that Elijah and Elisha "had no quarrel with the sanctuaries of their nation;" meaning the sanctuaries of the calf-worship at Bethel and Dan. And he gives this as proof that neither the Levitical code, nor the code of Deuteronomy, was known in the northern kingdom (*Prophets*, 113). It is true that among the very few words quoted from these two prophets there is no allusion to these sanctuaries, but the paucity of these quotations makes this statement appear reckless. Moreover, if the argument is good, it is suicidal to him who offers it; for just below, on the same page, he says: "It is safe, therefore, to conclude that whatever ancient laws may have had currency in a written form must be sought in other parts of the Pentateuch, particularly in the book of the covenant (Ex. xxi.-xxiii.), which the Pentateuch itself presents as an older code than those of Deuteronomy and the Levitical legislation;" but this code, as well as the Second Commandment of the Decalogue which preceded it, forbade such idolatry as the calf-worship, and our critic's argument would prove that these also were unknown in Israel. The argument is a boomerang.

If it is true that these two prophets, and especially Elijah, had no quarrel with the sanctuaries referred to, there is a very good reason for it that involves no such conclusion as Professor Smith has drawn to his own confusion. We are told by the historian that Ahab, "as if it had been a light thing to walk in the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, took to wife Jezebel, the daughter of Eth-baal, king of the Zidonians, and went and served Baal, and worshiped him" (I. Kings xvi. 30, 31). Comparatively speaking, it *was* "a light thing;" for Baal-worship was the most abominable form of idolatry ever known in Israel. Not only so, but it was cultivated in Ahab's reign to such an extent that all other forms of worship were thrown into complete obscurity. Four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal were fed at public expense, and all the prophets of Jehovah were slain or compelled to find safety in hiding. It was this gigantic power, backed by the authority of king and queen and aristocracy, that Elijah assailed single-handed. The calf-worship was, in his estimation, as in that of Ahab, a very "light thing," not to be thought of till this fiercer and more powerful foe was disarmed. When a Western hunter is fighting hand to paw a mountain bear, he pays little attention to a small dog that may be snapping at his heels. When Saul's kingdom was invaded by the Philistines, he very quickly turned his back upon David's little band, and hastened to repel the more dangerous foe. There were perhaps a thousand crimes being committed in Israel which Elijah might have denounced; and his silence about them may as well be used as proof that there was no law against them; but Professor Smith is himself able to see that this would be nonsense. While fighting the one great fight, on the result of which the very life of the nation depended, it would have been folly for Elijah to divide his energies by turning them against subordinate evils. While the American Union was fighting for existence during the great Civil War, it paid no attention to Maximilian's attempt to establish a monarchy in Mexico. Was this because the Monroe doctrine was not

yet in existence? So some future Robertson Smith may argue.

Wellhausen, whom Smith follows in the main, but sometimes contradicts, declares that Elijah and Elisha were "actual champions of the Jehovah of Bethel and Dan, and did not think of protesting against his pictorial representation" (*Prol.*, 283).¹⁷ This is to assume that they knew nothing of the Decalogue and the book of the covenant, while Smith says, as quoted above, that they did. It is, moreover, an assertion that these prophets were "actual champions" of something that they never said a word about. One might as truthfully say that Wellhausen is an actual champion of the free and unlimited coinage of silver in the United States, and prove it by his *Prolegomena*, in which he says nothing about it.

But Wellhausen attempts to support his startling assertion by arguing that if it were not so, Elijah at Mount Carmel, instead of the alternative, "If Baal is God, serve him, and if Jehovah is God, serve him," would have proposed choice between three, Jehovah, Baal and the calf! What we have said above about the complete predominance of Baal-worship at the time, shows that this would have been ridiculous. As well demand of the spectators of the supposed fight between the man and the bear, which will win, the man, the bear, or the little dog? The little dog, as the boys out West would say, "isn't in it;" and the calf "wasn't in it" in the reign of Ahab.

2. The Prophet Amos. Of this prophet the same assertion is made as of Elijah and Elisha: "Amos," says Robertson Smith, "never speaks of the golden calves as the sin of the northern sanctuaries, and he has only one or two allusions to the worship of false gods or idolatrous symbols" (*Prophets*, 140).

This statement is true, but as respects the question at issue it is evasive and misleading. It is true that Amos never men-

¹⁷ Kuenen inclines to the same preposterous assumption, but he expresses himself more cautiously: "Their attitude toward the bull-worship was not the same as that of their successors: rather must we infer from the narratives concerning them and the kings who ruled under their influence, that they either approved of it, or, at all events, did not oppose it" (*Rel. of Israel*, I. 221).

tions the golden calves at all, and of course he does not speak of them "as the sin of the northern sanctuaries." But he does what amounts to the same thing. He denounces in unqualified terms the sin of the worship paid those calves. He says: "Hear ye, and testify against the house of Jacob, saith the Lord God, the God of hosts. For in the day that I shall visit the transgressions of Israel upon him, I will also visit the altars of Bethel, and the horns of the altar shall be cut off, and fall to the ground" (iii. 13, 14). The altars of Bethel were the altars on which sacrifice was offered to the golden calf. Herein lay the sin. The calf was nothing but the image of a dumb brute, and the making of it was in itself no sin. The sin was in worshiping it, and this was done by means of the altar. The altar was then the object for the prophet to denounce in denouncing the worship of the calf.

Again the prophet exclaims: "Come to Bethel, and transgress; to Gilgal, and multiply transgression; and bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes every three days; and offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving of that which is leavened: for this liketh you, O ye children of Israel, saith Jehovah" (iv. 4, 5). What severer satire could be uttered against the whole of the worship at Bethel? The whole of it was transgression. The mention of Gilgal implies that the same unlawful worship had been extended to that place since Jeroboam first set up the calf at Bethel.

Again the prophet exclaims: "Thus saith Jehovah to the house of Israel, Seek ye me, and ye shall live: but seek not Bethel, nor enter into Gilgal, and pass not to Beer-sheba: for Gilgal shall surely go into captivity, and Bethel shall come to nought. Seek Jehovah, and ye shall live; lest he break out like fire in the house of Joseph, and there be none to quench it in Bethel" (v. 4-6). Here it is made as plain as words can make it, that the worship at these sanctuaries was not the worship of Jehovah; and the people are entreated, as they would save themselves from burning, to stop seeking these sanctuaries, and, in contrast therewith, to seek Jehovah.

It is here worthy of remark that Robertson Smith, while seeming to set forth the attitude of Amos to these sanctuaries, and making assertions in direct contradiction of these three passages, fails to quote a single word from them, either in his *Prophets of Israel*, or his *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*. We leave the reader to account for this as best he can. No one can claim that the scientific, the inductive method, which takes into view all the facts before reaching a conclusion, is here observed.

Once again we hear this same prophet, who never speaks against golden calves, addressing the worshipers before them in Jehovah's name, and exclaiming: "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though you offer me your burnt offerings, and meal offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols, but let judgement roll down like waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream" (v. 21-24). Thus, again, the whole system of worship at these sanctuaries, even those parts which are authorized in the Levitical law and in Deuteronomy when offered to Jehovah, is denounced as hateful to him. What a comment on Wellhausen's assertion that in fighting for the worship of Jehovah, Elijah was a champion of the Jehovah of Bethel and Dan! And what a comment on the assertion of Robertson Smith, that Amos never speaks of the golden calves as the sin of the northern sanctuaries!

Another passage in Amos our critics never *fail* to quote; yet it is not another passage, but the concluding part of the one last cited: "Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings forty years in the wilderness, O house of Israel? Yea, ye have borne Siccuth your king and Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves" (v. 25, 26). The question here propounded naturally requires a negative answer, and upon this presumption Professor Smith remarks: "Amos proves God's indifference to ritual by reminding Israel

that they offered no sacrifice and offerings to him in the wilderness during those forty years of wanderings, which he elsewhere cites as a special proof of Jehovah's covenant grace" (294). This is to assume that Amos' question requires an absolute negative—that they offered no sacrifices at all in the wilderness. If we suppose this to be true, it falls far short of proving that God was indifferent to ritual; for their failure might have been the result of willful disobedience; or it might have resulted from the want of animals. They certainly had but few animals, not even enough for a month's supply of food; for when God told Moses that he would give the people flesh to eat for a month, the latter demanded, "Shall flocks and herds be slain for them to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them to suffice them?" (Num. xi. 18-22). Moreover, they repeatedly murmured for flesh to eat, and this is sufficient proof that they could have brought few, if any, voluntary offerings to the altar. The record in Leviticus and Numbers indicates that when the tabernacle was standing, the regular morning and evening sacrifice of a lamb was kept up, but even this was omitted when the host was on the move day by day, and no regular encampment was formed. Now, Amos' question certainly admits of a comparative answer. The people may have said, when he propounded it, No; we offered few, if any; and at the most we offered none in comparison with the multitude of victims that we are now bringing to the altars at Bethel, Gilgal, Dan and Beer-sheba. This is precisely the answer that would have been given if the contents of Leviticus and Numbers were perfectly well known to the people, and on the same supposition it meets completely the demands of the prophet. He is showing the people that the present superfluity of their sacrifices was not needed in order to gain the favor of God, and he proves it by the comparative absence of these in the wilderness where God favored them more conspicuously than ever before or since, and where all sacrifices were offered to Jehovah.

We now see that the attempt to extract from the Book of Amos proof of the late date of the Levitical law and of the

Book of Deuteronomy is a failure; and that, like the most of arguments in favor of a bad cause, it is characterized by suppressing some of the evidence and misconstruing the rest. We shall see, in another part of this work, very clear evidence that Amos did know the law, and that the image-worshiping Israelites were not ignorant of it. (Part II., §9.)

3. Hosea. The allusions of Amos to the transgressions at Bethel, at Gilgal and Beer-sheba are equally explicit with those of Hosea; and yet, while denying that the former ever spoke in condemnation of the calves that were worshiped at these places, it is freely admitted that the latter did. This is a freak of criticism that is hard to be understood; for the only difference is that Hosea names the calves, while Amos makes unmistakable allusions to them. Robertson Smith says:

There is no feature in Hosea's prophecy which distinguishes him from earlier prophets so sharply as his attitude to the golden calves, the local symbols of Jehovah adored in the northern sanctuaries. Elijah and Elisha had no quarrel with the traditional worship of their nation. Even Amos never speaks in condemnation of the calves; but in Hosea's teaching they suddenly appear as the very root of Israel's sin and misery. It is perfectly clear that in the time of Hosea, as in that of Amos, the oath of the worshipers at Gilgal and Bethel was "by the life of Jehovah" (iv. 15); the feasts of the Baalim were Jehovah's feasts (ii. 11, 13; ix. 5); the sanctuary was Jehovah's house (ix. 4); the sacrifices, his offerings (viii. 13). But to Hosea's judgment this ostensible Jehovah worship was really the worship of other gods (iii. 1). With the calves Jehovah has nothing in common (*Prophets*, 175, 176).

On another page he says:

Jehovah was not formally abjured for the Canaanite gods; but in the decay of all the nobler impulses of national life, he sank in popular conception to their level; in essential character as well as in name, the calves of the local sanctuaries had become Canaanite Baalim, mere sources of the physical fertility of the land (174).

If this is true, and if, as said above, in the time of Amos, as in that of Hosea, the popular worship was only "nominally" Jehovah worship, how shameful it is to represent Amos as having no condemnation for it, and Elijah as having no quarrel with it! The sudden appearance in Hosea of the calves as "the very root of Israel's sin and misery," is but the sudden appearance of gross injustice done by critics to these two earlier prophets.

But, while freely admitting, and even insisting, that Hosea had a quarrel with the calves, our professor sees no evidence in this that Hosea had any knowledge of the law. He says: "If the prophecy of Hosea stood alone, it would be reasonable to think that this attack on the images of the popular religion was simply based on the Second Commandment." So it would, and so it does. "But," says Smith, "when we contrast it with the absolute silence of the earlier prophets, we can hardly accept this explanation as adequate" (176). He ought to have said, The absolute silence of Robertson Smith; for, as I have plainly showed above, he is absolutely silent in regard to all those passages in Amos in which the latter calls the people to come to Bethel and transgress, to Gilgal and multiply transgression, etc. Amos speaks plainly enough, and often enough in his own book, but he is gagged and made absolutely silent on this point in W. Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel*.

Persisting in this denial; he says on the next page (177):

Hosea does not condemn the worship of the calves, because idols are forbidden by the law; he excludes the calves from the sphere of true religion, because the worship which they receive has no affinity to the true attitude of Israel to Jehovah.

If Professor Smith were still alive, it would be pertinent to ask him how he knows all this. Where in the Book of Hosea does he give the latter reason for excluding the calves? And when we find a prophet of Jehovah who knew the second commandment of the law, as he admits that Hosea did, denouncing the worship of idols, how can he dare to say that the prophet does not condemn this worship because it is forbidden by the law? The truth is that neither he nor any other man who ever lived has known, or could know, that it is sinful to worship Jehovah under the symbol of calves, without a law forbidding it. Roman Catholics have not learned that it is wrong to worship Christ by bowing before a crucifix, even though they have been reading for a thousand years the express prohibition of such worship in the Scriptures.

This denial is not only irrational in itself, but it is inconsistent with what Hosea says of the law. In the beginning of his special denunciation of this sinful worship, he says: "My people are destroyed: because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no more priest to me: seeing thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I also will forget thy children" (iv. 6). Here the knowledge which they lacked, the knowledge which they had rejected, is proved by the collocation of the clauses to be the knowledge of the law of their God; and the charge, "Thou hast forgotten the law of thy God," shows that they had formerly known it. A few verses below he adds: "They shall commit whoredom, and shall not increase: because they have left off to take heed to Jehovah" (verse 10). They had ceased to take heed to Jehovah by forgetting and rejecting the knowledge of his law. Words could not make it plainer that they had formerly known the law of God. Again, speaking for God, he says: "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice; and knowledge of God more than burnt offerings" (vi. 6). The first clause of this sentence, as is proved by the parallel in the second, is an example of the well-known hebraism of an absolute negative where the relative is meant; and it means, "I desire mercy more than sacrifice." He desires sacrifice, and he desires burnt offerings; but he esteems mercy toward their fellow men, and knowledge of himself, more highly than either. This is also the teaching of Christ, who adopted these words of Hosea on two different occasions (Matt. ix. 13; xii. 7). But the knowledge of God, without which they would have no incentive to mercy, was derived only from his law, another proof that they had once possessed the law, but had rejected and forgotten it.

Finally Hosea, speaking in the name of Jehovah, covers the whole ground by the well-known words: "Because Ephraim hath multiplied altars to sin, altars have been unto him to sin. Though I write for him my law in ten thousand precepts, they are counted as a strange thing" (viii. 11, 12). Here is an unquestionable reference to written law; and the clause "they are counted as a strange thing," is equivalent to the rejecting

and the forgetting of the law in the previous citations. This clause, moreover, being expressed in the present tense, shows that the writing spoken of had already taken place. The first clause, then, can not mean, "though I *should* write my law." Neither can the clause mean, "though I *am* writing my law." It is a law which had been written. The alternative rendering in the margin of the Revised Version brings out this thought. "I wrote for him the ten thousand things of my law, but they are counted as a strange thing." The connection of this sentence with the preceding, "Because Ephraim hath multiplied altars to sin, altars have been unto him to sin," shows that the sin of these altars is the one chiefly referred to as counting the written law a strange thing.

The position taken by the destructive critics is so completely overthrown by the evidence in these passages, that they have taxed their ingenuity to the uttermost in seeking to attach to them a different meaning. The Hebrew word rendered "law" is *torah*; and we are gravely told that in these early prophets it means, not a written law, but the oral teaching of the prophets. "*Torah*," says Robertson Smith, "is the living prophetic word." And again he says: "The *torah* is not yet a finished and complete system, booked and reduced to a code, but a living word in the mouth of the prophets" (*O. T.*, 300).¹⁸ But where was this "living word in the mouth of the prophets," by which the calf-worship had been so severely condemned? Just three prophets had figured in Israel

¹⁸ With this Kuenen agrees, but he modifies the thought by adding: "Nothing hinders us from even assuming that they had also in view collections of laws and admonitions to which a higher antiquity or even a Mosaic origin was attributed" (*Rel. of Israel*, I. 56). Wellhausen differs from Kuenen at this point. He says: "It is certain that Moses was the founder of the Torah;" but he explains it by adding: "In fact, it can be shown that throughout the whole of the older period the Torah was no finished legislative code, but consisted entirely of the oral decisions and instructions of the priests" (*Israel*, *Encyc. Brit.*, p. 409, c. 2). He escapes the absurdity of referring it to prophets, when there were none before Amos and Hosea to promulgate laws, but in doing so he stands against his fellow critics, who deny that there was a regular priesthood in "the older period" of which he speaks.

since the calves were set up; and with reference to them Professor Smith has already dug away the ground from under his own feet, by saying that Elijah and Elisha had no quarrel with the calf-worship, and that Amos said nothing against it. Where, then, is the *torah*, the "living word in the mouth of the prophets," to which Hosea appeals? It vanishes into thin air as soon as you make the inquiry.

On another page (303) Professor Smith says that when Hosea says to the priests, "Thou hast forgotten the *torah* of thy God" (Hos. iv. 6), it "can not fairly be doubted that the *torah* which the priests have forgotten is the Mosaic *torah*;" but he still denies that it was written. He says, "It is simple matter of fact that the prophets do not refer to a written *torah* as the basis of their teaching, and we have seen that they absolutely deny the existence of a binding ritual law" (302). But if Hosea appealed to a *torah* in his denunciation of the calf-worship, whether a "living word in the mouth of the prophets," or a traditional *torah* transmitted orally from Moses, this *torah* must of necessity have been more or less of a ritual character, in that it condemned the worship of the calves. The right or the wrong of worshiping Jehovah, or any other god, under the symbol of calves, is a question of ritual, and nothing else. Unwittingly, then, in the very act of affirming that the prophets "absolutely deny the existence of a binding ritual law," our critics prove that they recognized one. Such is the self-contradiction in which this form of criticism repeatedly involves itself.

While Smith, in common with his German teachers, thus boldly denies that the prophets refer to a written *torah* as the basis of their teaching, here comes Prof. T. K. Cheyne, more radical in some respects than he, to flatly contradict him. In his introduction to the Book of Hosea (*Cambridge Bible for Schools*), he makes the following statements:

All that is certain in regard to Hosea's relation to the law, is what he tells us himself; viz.: that laws with a sanction which, though ignored by the northern Israelites, he himself recognized as divine, were in course of being written down (viii. 12). Our present text

makes him even say that the divine precepts might be reckoned by myriads, but this would not apply even to our present Pentateuch, and we should probably correct *ribbo*, "myriad," into *dibhre*, "words" (of my law). There may, of course, either have been various small law-books, or one large one; we can not determine this point from the Book of Hosea (36, 37).

It is morally certain that so radical a critic as Cheyne is known to be, would not have made this admission in opposition to his fellow critics had he not been constrained to do so by the evidence in the case.

It will be observed, however, that in making this concession, Professor Cheyne is by no means willing to concede that the written law-book referred to by Hosea could have been our Pentateuch; and his reason for holding that it was not, is curious enough. It is, that the exact term "myriads" could not apply to our present Pentateuch. I suppose that no one pretends that in its literal sense it could; but when Hosea speaks of God's law as being written in ten thousand precepts, where is the simpleton who ever supposed that he used the numeral literally? But, further, if this huge numeral could not apply to the precepts of the Pentateuch, what about the precepts in his "various small law-books"? Had they as many written precepts as we find in our present Pentateuch? No critic will answer yes. Then, why try to cut off the head of the Pentateuch with a knife which, in the very attempt, cuts off the critic's own head?

4. Isaiah. In further proof that "the theology of the prophets before Ezekiel has no place for the system of priestly sacrifice and ritual," Prof. Robertson Smith quotes a well-known passage in the first chapter of Isaiah; and he quotes it as follows:

"What are your many sacrifices to me, saith Jehovah: I delight not in the blood of bullocks, and lambs, and hegoats. When ye come to see my face, who hath asked this at your hands, to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations . . . my soul hateth your new moons and your feasts; they are a burden upon me; I am weary to bear them"—Isa. i. 11, *seq.* (O. T., 293).

Quoted thus, Isaiah would prove not merely that he had no place for the priestly sacrifice and ritual, but that Jehovah

hated such things, and rebuked the people for presenting them—that he forbade such worshipers to “tread his courts.” This is to prove too much; for on another page the same author says that the prophets have “no objection to sacrifice and ritual in the abstract;” they only deny that God has enjoined sacrifice (295).

But in thus quoting the passage, a part is omitted where the dots are printed, which, if copied, would prove, by the same line of argument, that Jehovah also hated the Sabbath. It reads: “Incense is an abomination to me; new moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies—I can not away with iniquity and the solemn meeting.” Whatever may be thought of the new moon holy day here mentioned, and of the solemn meetings referred to, no sane man can believe that Isaiah, in the name of Jehovah, held the Sabbath to be an abomination.

Furthermore, this quotation stops too soon. It leaves out the words: “And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide my face from you: yea, when you make many prayers, I will not hear.” Did Jehovah hate prayer? And was prayer one of the ritual observances for which the early prophets had “no place in their theology”? So it would seem if there is any sense in the use which Robertson-Smith, in common with his fellow critics, makes of this passage. But the climax of misquotation and misapplication is reached in omitting the last clause of Isaiah’s philippic, which explains all that precedes: “Your hands are full of blood!” This is the reason which Jehovah himself gives why the sacrifices, the incense, the new moon holy days, the sabbath, the solemn meetings and the prayers of that people, were an abomination to him. The same is true to-day, and it ever has been. If a church were crowded to-day with worshipers whose hands were full of blood, every prayer they could offer, and every hymn they could sing, would be as abominable as were those denounced by Isaiah. It is therefore a fearful abomination to employ these words of the prophet as if the specified acts of worship, when rightly rendered from clean hands and pure hearts, were hateful to Jehovah. It is high time that this perversion of Jehovah’s

words, first invented by the enemies of the Bible, were abandoned by those who profess to be its friends.

Immediately after quoting this passage in his own way, together with one from Amos, which we have noticed, Robertson Smith says: "It is sometimes argued that such passages mean only that Jehovah will not accept the sacrifices of the wicked, and that they are quite consistent with a belief that sacrifice and ritual are a necessary accompaniment of true religion. But there are other texts which absolutely exclude such a view." We shall examine these other texts.

5. Micah. The first of these which remains to be noticed is the oft-quoted passage in Micah, which Professor Smith introduces thus:

Micah declares that Jehovah does not require sacrifice. He asks nothing of his people but "to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with their God"—Mic. vi. 8 (*ib.*, 294).

We shall best understand the passage by having the whole of it before the eye at once: "Wherewith shall I come before Jehovah, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, and with calves a year old? Will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Mic. vi. 6-8).

The four questions here expounded by the prophet require negative answers. They all point to the one end brought out in the last, the removal of "my transgression," the "sin of my soul." The one point of inquiry is, when I come before Jehovah to obtain his favor, will I secure it by burnt offerings? Will the offering of even a thousand rams secure it? Will offerings of oil secure it, even if I offer ten thousand rivers of it? Having failed with all of these, can I secure it by offering my firstborn? The answer is, No. And this is the answer, whether we think that the Levitical law was in force at the time or not. No man of intelligence ever lived under

that law who would have answered otherwise. Only the superstitious and hypocritical under the Levitical law ever pretended that God's favor to men depended on the multitude of his sacrifices, or their costliness. The law itself precluded any such pretense by prescribing as the sin-offering, whether for the sins of an individual, or those of the whole people, only a single victim, and this most usually only a lamb or a kid. It was also made perfectly plain by the law that even by these a man's sins could not be removed. The sinner was required to bring the victim to the altar, lay his hand upon its head, confess his sin, and slay the victim; and without these he knew that the offering would be ineffective (Lev. iv. 27-vi. 7). Seeing, then, that under the full sway of the Levitical law these questions would be pertinent, and would be answered in the negative, it is absurd to use them as proof that the Levitical law was not yet in existence.

To this conclusive reasoning we are able to add demonstration; for it is admitted by all the negative critics that the law in Deuteronomy recognizes the ritual of sacrifice, and even restricts the offering of sacrifices to the altar at the central sanctuary; but the author of that law employs almost the identical words of Micah when he demands: "And now, Israel, what doth Jehovah thy God require of thee, but to fear Jehovah thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve Jehovah thy God with all thy heart and all thy soul, to keep the commandments of Jehovah, and his statutes, which I command thee this day for thy good?" (Deut. x. 12, 13). Does the Deuteronomist, then, whosoever he may be, exclude here the sacrifices which he elsewhere enjoins? or does he include them in walking in Jehovah's ways, serving him, and keeping his statutes? There is only one answer. And how could a man, if he lived under the Levitical law, "walk humbly with his God," as Micah requires, without offering such sacrifices as God's law required of him? A neglect of these would be pride and rebellion. On the other hand, offering a thousand rams, or ten thousand rivers of oil, if it were possible, would

be a piece of vainglory, while offering his firstborn would be heathenism.

This method of perverting the Scriptures would have a parallel, if one should argue that Jesus, in saying, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven," excludes the ordinance of baptism from his requirements. It would be a stupid fellow indeed who would not see that we do the will of our Father in heaven in part by being baptized. So the Jew walked humbly with his God by offering without fail for his sins the sacrifices appointed.

6. Last of all we come to the prophet Jeremiah. He is constantly quoted by negative critics as denying that God appointed sacrifice when he led Israel out of Egypt. Thus Robertson Smith (*O. T.*, 294):

Jeremiah vii. 21, *seq.*, says in express words, "Put your burnt offerings to your sacrifices, and eat flesh. For I spake not to your fathers, and gave them no command in the day that I brought them out of Egypt concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices. But this thing I commanded them, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people, etc. (*Comp.* Isa. xliii. 23, *seq.*)

Commenting further on this and similar passages, Smith says:

This does not prove that they (the prophets) have any objection to sacrifice and ritual in the abstract. But they deny that these things are of positive divine institution, or have any part in the scheme on which Jehovah's grace is administered in Israel. Jehovah, they say, has not enjoined sacrifice. This does not imply that he has never accepted sacrifice, or that ritual service is absolutely wrong. But it is at least mere form, which does not purchase any favor from Jehovah, and might be given up without offense. It is impossible to give a flatter contradiction to the traditional theory that the Levitical system was enacted in the wilderness (*ib.*, 295).

(1) If this is the real position of the prophets, it is most unaccountable; for if Jehovah had never enjoined sacrifice in his service, how could it be supposed by the prophets, or by any sane person, that it could be acceptable—that the daily slaughter of innocent victims, and frequent holocausts in which thousands of animals were slain and burned, making the house of God, as some irreverent skeptics have expressed it, a verita-

ble slaughter-house, could be accepted by him at any time or under any circumstances? Such will-worship would have been met by every true prophet of God with the rebuke which Isaiah administered to the hypocrites whose hands were full of blood, and who yet had the impudence to bring a multitude of sacrifices into the temple. "Who," says the indignant prophet, "hath required this at your hands, to trample my courts?" (Isa. l. 10-15). And how could Solomon, without rebuke, have erected his costly and splendid temple, whose every appointment was arranged with reference to the offering of sacrifices, if God had never enjoined sacrifice as a part of his worship? The position is absurd in the highest degree; and if Jeremiah assumed it, he is either guilty of absurdity himself, or he charges it upon the whole host of Israelite worshippers from the beginning to the end.

(2) Again, if Jeremiah, or any of the prophets, is to be thus understood, then they deny what all of our critics except the most radical admit, the divine origin of the "book of the covenant." For in that book we have this well-known divine enactment: "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen: in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee. And if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it" (Ex. xx. 24, 25). Here is a positive enactment of sacrifice, accompanied by precise directions as to the kind of altar on which they could be acceptably offered. Jeremiah, if he could have had the motive, could not have had the daring to unite with our modern critics in denying that God had thus legislated.

(3) It is admitted by even the radical critics that Jeremiah knew the Book of Deuteronomy, and believed that it was God's law by the hand of Moses. But to understand him as denying the divine enactment of sacrifice, is to make him contradict that book in which he believed, and the teaching of

which he was zealously assisting King Josiah to enforce upon the consciences of the people. For this book represents Moses in the last year of the wanderings as saying: "Unto the place which Jehovah your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither thou shalt come: and thither ye shall bring your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, and your tithes, and the heave-offering of your hand, and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herd and of your flock" (xii. 5, 6). Our critics are never weary of quoting this passage when they are seeking to prove that it was the introduction of a law never before known in Israel; but here they come with the Book of Jeremiah in their hands—Jeremiah, who believed in the divine authority of this law, and whose book they tell us is saturated with reminiscences from Deuteronomy—and make him flatly deny the truth of this passage. Was ever inconsistency more glaring or more inexcusable? Scientific criticism!

(4) The absurdity of thus interpreting Jeremiah's words appears still more monstrous when we take into view some of his own utterances on this subject in other passages. In xi. 3, 4, he expressly cites the covenant given at Mount Sinai in these solemn words: "Thus saith Jehovah, the God of Israel: Cursed be the man that heareth not the words of this covenant, which I made with your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the iron furnace, saying, Obey my voice, and do them, according to all which I command you: so shall ye be my people, and I will be your God." But one of the things commanded when this covenant was made, was that they should erect an altar, as we have quoted above, on which to offer sacrifices and burnt offerings. In xiv. 11, 12, he says: "Jehovah said to me, Pray not for this people for their good. When they fast, I will not hear their cry; and when they offer burnt offering and oblation, I will not accept them: but I will consume them by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence." Here it is clearly im-

plied that but for the extreme wickedness of the people, on account of which they were to be no longer subjects for prayer, and their burnt offerings and oblations would not be accepted, all these acts of worship would be accepted; and it is just as reasonable to say that fasting and prayer were not authorized by God, as to say that sacrifices were not.

Finally, passing by several other passages having a similar bearing, in xvii. 24-26 Jehovah promises, on condition that the people "hearken to him," that Jerusalem shall remain forever, and he adds: "They shall come from the cities of Judah, and from the cities round about Jerusalem, and from the land of Benjamin, and from the lowland, and from the mountains, and from the South, bringing burnt offerings, and sacrifices, and oblations, and frankincense, and bringing sacrifices of thanksgiving, unto the house of Jehovah." Here the whole round of Levitical sacrifices is described, and the fact that all are to be zealously observed is the crowning blessing in a gracious promise. Can we imagine Jehovah through the prophet speaking thus of a ritual which he had never authorized, and which, though observed in the right spirit, could secure no favor at his hand?

What, then, is the meaning of Jeremiah in the passage so confidently employed by the critics to prove that Jehovah had never spoken to the fathers concerning such a service? If men will but use the knowledge which they easily command when they are not swayed by prepossessions, it is not far to seek. It is found in that well-known Hebrew idiom by which, in comparing two objects or courses of action, the universal negative is used with the one that is inferior. A few examples of it may remind the intelligent reader of that which he already knows, but is apt, on account of its difference from our own usage, to forget. When Joseph had revealed himself to his guilty brethren, and was seeking to comfort them, he said: "Be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life. . . . So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God"

(Gen. xlv. 5-8). In Deut. v. 2, 3, Moses says to the people: "Jehovah our God made a covenant with us in Horeb. Jehovah made not this covenant with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day." He means, Jehovah made a covenant not with our fathers only, or specially, but with us also. Jesus says: "Think not that I came to send peace on earth. I came not to send peace, but a sword" (Matt. x. 34). The people of Samaria say to the woman who had met Jesus at the well: "Now we believe, not because of thy speaking: for we have heard for ourselves, and we know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world;" and yet it had just been said, "Many of the Samaritans believed on him because of the word of the woman" (John iv. 39-42). They believed finally, not because of her speaking *alone*. Paul says to the Corinthians, "I was sent not to baptize, but to preach the gospel" (I. Cor. i. 17)—not to baptize alone, or chiefly, but to preach the gospel. He also says to Timothy: "Be no longer a drinker of water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities" (I. Tim. v. 23). These are a few examples of the idiom, and others are to be found in all parts of the Scriptures. Instances of its use are determined, as in the case of all other figurative language, by the nature of the case, by the context, or by the known sentiments of the writer.

The passage under discussion in Jeremiah is an example of this idiom; and the prophet means by it, "I spake not to your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices as their chief service; but this I commanded them as the chief thing, saying, Hearken unto my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people." We are forced to this conclusion, both by the sentiments of the prophet expressed in the other passages quoted above, and by the context preceding this passage. The discourse in which our passage is found begins with the chapter. It was delivered as the prophet stood in the gate of the temple. He first denounces the men of Judah for trusting to the temple of

Jehovah, as false prophets had taught them, for security against the disasters which he predicted; and tells them that they are trusting in "lying words." He demands of them, as their ground of safety, the abandonment of crimes which they were committing; and with respect to the temple and its services, he indignantly demands: "Will ye steal, and murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely, and burn incense to Baal, and walk after other gods, whom ye have not known, and come and stand before me in this house which is called by my name, and say, We are delivered; that we may do all these abominations? Is this house which is called by my name become a den of robbers in your eyes?" Then he reminds them of the destruction of Shiloh, where he caused his name to dwell at the first, and he tells them: "I will do unto the house which is called by my name, wherein ye trust, and the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, as I have done to Shiloh." He then tells Jeremiah not to pray for the people. Even now, since Josiah's reformation had taken place, and public idolatry had been suppressed, they were still worshipping the heavenly bodies in secret. "The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead the dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings to other gods, that they may provoke me to anger." It was in view of this hypocrisy that the prophet declares in the name of Jehovah: "I spake not to your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices: but this I commanded them, saying, Hearken unto my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people." In view of this context, and in view of the indisputable fact that both Jeremiah and the people whom he addressed recognized as true what is said of the "book of the covenant" and in Deuteronomy of God's commands in respect to sacrifice, why have our critics, who are quick to recognize this idiom in other places, so blindly failed to see it here? "There are none so blind as those who will not see."

We have now examined all of the principal passages which are used to prove that the pre-exilic prophets had no knowledge of the Levitical law, and that all of them except Jeremiah were ignorant of Deuteronomy; and we are seriously mistaken if every unprejudiced reader will not agree that they furnish no such proof. On the contrary, all of them, when fairly construed, are in perfect harmony with such knowledge, some of them presuppose it, and many passages which these critics have overlooked bear positive testimony in its favor. So elaborate and painstaking an attempt to sustain a false assumption has seldom proved so complete a failure.

§9. EVIDENCE FROM STYLE.

In the early stage of destructive criticism its advocates depended chiefly on peculiarities of style for determining the relative ages of documents, and for distinguishing one writer from another in composite documents. For the latter purpose it is still almost their only reliance. But this method, called literary criticism, has been abandoned to a large extent in discussing such questions as the authorship and date of Deuteronomy. Its relegation to an inferior place is the result of the many glaring exposures of its unreliability which have been published by conservative scholars. These exposures have recorded a decisive victory of conservatism, which may be taken as a token of the victory yet to be won in the whole field of controversy. Professor Driver, in his *Introduction*, shows the effect upon himself of this victory, by minimizing the argument from this source. He devotes but little more than four pages to the subject, and nearly three of these are taken up with the quotation of forty-one phrases characteristic of Deuteronomy. It is not claimed, in reference to any of the forty-one, that Moses could not have used it. Of many it is asserted that they were adopted from the pre-existing document JE; but this is only to acknowledge that they were adopted from what we now read in the Book of Exodus, and it conforms with the Biblical representation that this book was written before Deuteronomy. Of the author of Deuteronomy he says:

His power as an orator is shown in the long and stately periods with which his work abounds: at the same time, the parenthetic treatment which his subject often demands, always maintains its freshness, and is never monotonous or prolix. In his command of a chaste and persuasive eloquence, he stands unique among the writers of the Old Testament (102).

What orator among all that graced the history of Israel is more likely to have deserved this encomium than Moses, whose training in all the learning of the Egyptians, and whose practice through forty years in the wilderness with people whom he was almost daily addressing, gave him pre-eminent opportunities to acquire unique oratorical powers? It is not too much to say that Driver abandons the argument from style as respects the authorship of Deuteronomy.¹⁹

This completes our review of the evidences on which those critics who deny the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy depend for their conclusion. If not exhaustive of these, numerically considered, it is exhaustive, we modestly think, of their force as a whole. The refutation will derive additional force from the positive evidence for the Mosaic authorship which we shall next present.

¹⁹ The reader who is curious to trace the arguments and illustrations by which this citadel of the earlier critics has been stormed, is referred to the following works: Edersheim's *History and Prophecy in Reference to the Messiah*, 261-263; Stanley Leathes' *Witness of the Old Testament to Christ*, 282 ff.; Green's *Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*, 113-118; Bartlett's *Veracity of the Hexateuch*, 300-302; *The Higher Critics Criticised*, by H. L. Hastings and R. P. Stebbins, lxii., lxiii.; 152-172.

PART II.

**EVIDENCE FOR THE MOSAIC
AUTHORSHIP.**

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EVIDENCE FOR THE MOSAIC AUTHORSHIP.

I. INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

§1. THE DIRECT TESTIMONY OF THE WRITER.

It is a rule of evidence recognized in our courts of justice, that the claim of authorship which any written document sets forth within itself has a presumption in its favor. This presumption has such force that upon it alone the document must be received as a genuine product of said author, unless the claim is proved to be false. The burden of proof lies on him who calls it in question. This is true of bank checks, notes of hand, deeds to real estate, wills, and all such writings. It is equally true of books. This presumption is the natural starting-point for such a discussion as the present, but on the preceding pages we have considered evidences by which certain critics have attempted to set it aside. This reversal of the natural order seemed prudent, as we have remarked in the Introduction (§7), on account of the fact that the minds of many have been for a generation preoccupied with the belief that the Mosaic authorship has been disproved. Having examined all of these evidences which can be claimed as decisive in the case, and found that none of them has the force claimed for it, and that many have a bearing in the opposite direction, we now propose to set forth in contrast with these the evidences which have led Biblical scholars in the past as in the present to believe that Moses is the author of the book. We shall dwell first on explicit statements of the book itself.

1. The first sentence of the book, which is evidently intended as its title, reads thus: "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah over against Suph, between Paran and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-zahab." This represents

the contents of the book as having been delivered orally to all Israel by Moses. It also very definitely locates the place in which this was done. Of the words defining the place we have spoken fully in Part First, Section 6. The author next states very definitely the time at which Moses began this oral communication: "It came to pass in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month, that Moses spake unto the children of Israel, according to all that Jehovah had given him in commandment unto them." In the next sentence he again defines the place in different words, saying, "Beyond Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to declare this law." Then follows a discourse, beginning with verse 6, and ending with the fourth chapter and fortieth verse.

These statements affirm nothing about committing the discourse to writing. They refer only to its oral delivery; but in doing this they make Moses the author of what is written. On this point they could not be more explicit. These prefatory remarks may have been written after the discourse was; but whether written before or after does not appear from the text. Neither does it appear whether they were written by Moses himself, or by another person; for although the third person is used in speaking of Moses, this was the frequent custom of ancient historians when speaking of themselves. In the speech itself the first person is necessarily employed.

One thing more in these prefatory remarks demands our attention. The words of Moses which follow are called a "law." "Moses began to declare this law" (verse 5). But in the first discourse, while there are very solemn exhortations to keep the laws which Moses had previously given, there are no laws propounded. The discourse is historical, not legal. But the second discourse is legal and not historical. These considerations show that the expression "this law" is intended to include both; just as, in later times, the whole Pentateuch, law and history was called "the law." The preface then affirms the Mosaic authorship not merely of the first discourse, but of that which follows. It includes, in reality, the contents of

all the rest of the book as it existed at the time; and we should understand it as including all as we now have it unless we find good reason to suppose that some of it has been added since.

2. Preface to the Second Discourse. At v. 1 a second discourse begins, and it closes at xxvi. 19. It is introduced by prefatory statements in iv. 44-49, of which this is the first: "And this is the law which Moses set before the children of Israel: these are the testimonies, and the statutes, and the judgements, which Moses spake to the children of Israel, when they came forth out of Egypt; beyond Jordan, over against Beth-peor, in the land of Sihon king of the Amorites, who dwelt at Heshbon, whom Moses and the children of Israel smote, when they came forth out of Egypt." Here the expression, "And this is the law," refers back to the words, "Moses began to declare this law" (i. 5), and means this also is the law; that is, a continuance of the law which Moses set before Israel. It is further defined here as containing "testimonies, statutes and judgements." This is the second declaration of the Mosaic authorship, and in compliance with it we are told that "Moses called unto all Israel, and said to them, Hear, O Israel, the statutes and the judgements which I speak in your ears this day, that ye may learn them, and observe to do them" (v. 1).

3. After the Close of the Second Discourse. Next after this second discourse by Moses, directions are given for the erection of great stones at Mt. Ebal, which were to be covered with plaister, and in the plaister, while soft, were to be written "all the words of this law;" and the singular ceremony of pronouncing curses and blessings was there to be observed (xxvii. 1-26). In the directions here given, Moses is three times said to have been the principal speaker. First, "Moses and the elders of Israel" command the people, saying, "Keep all the commandment which I command you this day" (1); second, "Moses and the priests the Levites" spake to all Israel, saying, "Keep silence, and hearken, O Israel" (9); and third, "Moses charged the people the same day" (11). Thus the

twenty-seventh chapter is ascribed to Moses three times. Then the twenty-eighth chapter, which is a prophetic outline of the history of Israel down to the Roman captivity, and on to the present day, is a continuation of what he says in the twenty-seventh.

4. In the Preface to the Covenant. The section including chapters xxix. and xxx. is introduced with the statement, "These are the words of the covenant which Jehovah commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel in the land of Moab, beside the covenant which he made with them in Horeb;" and the words themselves are preceded by the statement, "Moses called unto all Israel, and said to them." Thus the contents of these two chapters are explicitly ascribed to Moses, and the thirty-first chapter opens with the statement, "And Moses went and spake these words unto all Israel." Then the next seven verses of chapter xxxi. are occupied with what Moses said by way of encouraging the people, and Joshua his successor.

5. Committing this Law to Writing. Thus far nothing has been said in the book about committing its contents to writing. All has been spoken by Moses, in the form of public addresses to "all Israel." Now we have the statement (xxxi. 9): "And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it to the priests the sons of Levi, who bore the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, and unto all the elders of Israel." This is immediately followed by the command, "At the end of every seven years, in the set time of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before Jehovah thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing." Farther on in the same chapter (24-26) provision is made for the preservation of the book thus written, and it is said: "And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites, who bore the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, saying, Take this book of the law, and put it by the side of the ark of the covenant of Jehovah your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee."

We thus have the most explicit testimony of this book itself, that its contents up to the close of its thirty-first chapter were first delivered orally to all Israel by Moses, and then written by him in a book, and that this book was then delivered to the guardians of the most sacred symbol of Jehovah's presence, the ark of the covenant, as if it were of equal sanctity, and to be preserved with equal vigilance. It is vain to except any of the preceding contents, such as the first four chapters, and ascribe to them a later origin, for the repeated expression, "this law," found in every part as we have seen, like the links of a continuous chain binds all the parts in one.

6. In the Preface to the Song, and that to the Blessing. We have already, in a previous section (§6, 4), called attention to the four explicit statements of the Mosaic authorship of the "song of Moses" (xxxi. 19, 22, 30; xxxii. 44); and to the one which asserts that he blessed the children of Israel with the blessing contained in the thirty-third chapter (xxxiii. 1); and we have answered the arguments by which adverse critics have tried to set this testimony aside. Nothing more needs to be said on these points.

We have now reached the end of the book, with the exception of the account of the death of Moses, and some comments on his career, all of which undoubtedly came from the pen of some later writer or writers. A very small number of persons, with extreme views of inspiration, have expressed the opinion that Moses, by inspiration, wrote this account and these comments; and destructive critics have sometimes cited this fact, in order to throw discredit on the whole company of scholars who believe in the Mosaic authorship. This is unworthy of men claiming to be critics. We could as well retort by quoting some of the silly opinions advanced by unskilled advocates of their own theory, of which many can be found, and hold their entire school responsible for these.

The reader is now better prepared to appreciate the oft-repeated assertion that the Book of Deuteronomy does not claim Moses as its author. No assertion could be more reck-

less on the part of any man who has gathered up the book's account of itself; and the man who has not done this has no right to make any assertion at all on the subject. Unless this internal evidence shall be set aside by such proofs as have never yet been brought forth, it must stand good before the bar of enlightened opinion.

§2. INDIRECT TESTIMONY OF THE AUTHOR.

The formal claim of authorship made in a document may often be confirmed, or thrown into doubt, by remarks incidentally made when the question of authorship is not in the author's mind. A large number of such remarks, confirming the formal claim which we have just considered, is found in the Book of Deuteronomy. They consist in incidental allusions to the fact that when the speeches and poems which make up the body of the work were composed, the speaker and his auditors had not yet crossed over into the promised land. There are none of these in the first discourse, for the evident reason that in it the speaker was reciting and commenting on past events. But in the twenty-seven chapters which begin with the sixth and end with the thirty-second, they are as numerous as the chapters. They are not expressed in a stereotyped formula, as if they had been inserted for effect. Once we have, "In the land which ye go over to possess it" (vi. 1). Three times we have, "When Jehovah thy God shall bring thee into the land which he sware to thy fathers to give thee" (vi. 10; vii. 1; xi. 29); twice, "That thou mayest go in and possess the good land" (vi. 18; viii. 1); once, "Thou art to pass over Jordan this day" (ix. 1); once, "They shall go in and possess the land" (x. 11); three times, "The land which thou goest in to possess it" (xi. 10, 11; xxxii. 47); once, "When ye go over Jordan and dwell in the land" (xii. 10); three times, "When thou shalt come into the land" (xvii. 4; xviii. 9; xxvi. 1); four times, "The land which Jehovah giveth thee to possess it" (xix. 2; xxi. 1, 23; xxv. 19); twice, "On the day when ye pass over Jordan" (xxvii. 2, 4); once, "Jehovah thy God will go over before thee" (xxxi. 3); twice, "Joshua shall go

over before thee" (xxxi. 3, 8); once, "The land which ye go over Jordan to possess it" (xxxi. 13); once, "When I shall have brought them into the land which I sware to their fathers" (xxxi. 20).

Now, if Moses was the author of these several documents, as is so positively asserted, these forms of expression, and this frequent recurrence of them, are perfectly natural; and the reader will find, upon examination of them, that they are every one nicely fitted to the context in which it occurs, taking form in harmony therewith. The frequency of their occurrence is accounted for by the fact that the eastern slopes of the promised land were in full view of the multitude as they listened to Moses, with nothing but the overflowing Jordan between it and them. In the earlier books, when there was a period of many years and a long desert journey between the people and the land of promise, the speeches of Moses are almost void of such allusions. There are only two in Exodus, unless some have escaped our search (xiii. 5, 11); only three in Leviticus (xiv. 34; xxiii. 10; xxv. 2); and only five in Numbers, three of the five occurring in remarks made on the plain of Moab, where the discourses of Deuteronomy were delivered (xv. 2, 18; xxxiii. 51; xxxiv. 2; xxxv. 10). Nothing could be more natural on the lips of Moses than the frequency of these expressions when standing in sight of the promised land, and the infrequency of them when far away.

If, now, the Book of Deuteronomy, instead of being written by Moses, was composed seven centuries later, in the time of Manasseh, the only conceivable reason why it contains so many positive assertions of its Mosaic authorship, was to make its readers believe that Moses wrote it, the real author or authors knowing perfectly well that he did no such thing. And, on this hypothesis, the only motive for introducing these varied expressions in the speeches about a future entrance into the promised land, was to add a superfluity of false evidence of the same false representation. And when we consider the large number of these allusions, and the varied forms in which they are presented, we find in them not only a superfluity of

lying, but an ingenuity in framing falsehoods which are incredible because they surpass the cunning which any other spurious author has ever exhibited. No juggler ever displayed more cunning in devising his tricks of legerdemain.

Furthermore, if the Books of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers were written two hundred years later than Deuteronomy, the author or authors of these books had even more reason to employ deceptive devices in making their readers believe that Moses wrote them, in proportion as their distance from the days of Moses was greater. They had also the example of the Deuteronomist to teach them skill in this line of deception. Why, then, did not they, while making speeches and putting them into the lips of Moses, insert in them a similar number and variety of allusions to the future entrance into Canaan? They insert enough of them to show that they were not ashamed of the device, but they fall far short of their exemplar in the number of them. Was it because they thought it might not appear natural for Moses to speak so often of crossing the Jordan while he was at a distance from it? If so, this explanation, without reflecting any credit on their honesty, only magnifies their devilish ingenuity.

§3. INCIDENTAL EVIDENCE.

There are certain enactments recorded in Deuteronomy which were wholly out of date in the time of Manasseh and Josiah, and which could not have originated later than the time of Moses. A few of these we specify:

1. The Decree against Amalek. "Remember what Amalek did to thee by the way as ye came forth out of Egypt; how he met thee by the way, and smote the hindmost of thee, all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary; and he feared not God. Therefore it shall be, when Jehovah thy God hath given thee rest from all thine enemies round about, in the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee for an inheritance to possess it, that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget" (xxv. 17-19).

If Moses is the author of both Exodus and Deuteronomy, this order is simply an order issued by Moses in the last year of the wanderings, for the execution of a decree issued by God in the first year (Ex. xvii. 8-16); but if the narrative in Exodus was not written till six hundred years after Moses, and Deuteronomy not till seven centuries after, then the author of the former put into the lips of God a decree which he never uttered, and the latter put an order for the execution of this decree in the lips of Moses which he never uttered. Moreover, at the supposed time of the writings, Amalek had long since disappeared from the earth, having been exterminated by Saul and David. What motive, then, could have actuated these two writers? If we suppose that the hypothetical J or E wrote the account in Exodus because there was in his day an oral tradition that such a decree had been issued, this furnishes no excuse to the author of Deuteronomy for putting into the mouth of Moses an order for which there was not even traditional evidence. We must conclude either that it was an invention of the latter spun out of his own brain, or that he is himself an invention spun out of the brains of modern critics. Driver says that "only an antiquarian reason is assigned for the injunction to exterminate Amalek" (*Com.*, xxxi.). The reason given is, that Amalek had made an unprovoked attack on Israel in the wilderness. If that was a valid reason, it does not become invalid by giving it a strange name, and calling it an "antiquarian reason." It would be better to inquire, For what reason did the hypothetical writer put this "antiquarian reason" in his book? It could only have been to sustain the deception that Moses was the author of the book.

2. The Order to Exterminate the Canaanites. It is only in Deuteronomy that this order is found: "But of the cities of these peoples, which Jehovah thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth: but thou shalt utterly destroy them; the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, and the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite; as Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee: that they teach you

not to do after their abominations, which they have done unto their gods; so should ye sin against Jehovah your God" (xx. 16-18). On the critical hypothesis, this order was not in existence in any written document when Deuteronomy was composed, not even in the imaginary documents J and E. The writer, then, must have composed it himself and put it into the mouth of Moses. And what motive could he have had for so doing? The Canaanite tribes mentioned had long since disappeared from the face of the earth, and Israel had not exterminated them as this order required. They had slaughtered many, but they had spared many. Did the writer wish to hold up his ancestors as disobedient to a divine command? And was he so anxious to do this that he invented the command to make them appear disobedient to it? No critic will answer, Yes. The existence of this order in the Book of Deuteronomy is, then, an enigma, if it was not placed there by Moses himself. This conclusion is confirmed by the wholly evasive attempt of Driver to account for the order. He says: "Religious motives sufficiently explain the strongly hostile attitude adopted against the Canaanites" (*Com.*, xxx.). Yes; of course. But who adopted this strongly hostile attitude; a writer who lived long centuries after the Canaanites had disappeared? or a writer who lived while they were yet living and powerful? If the latter, then Moses wrote Deuteronomy. If the former, then the man who wrote it was wasting ammunition by firing at a dead enemy.

3. The Order Respecting Ammon, Moab and Edom. This order provided that an Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the assembly of Jehovah, even to the tenth generation; and two reasons are given: First, because they "met not Israel with bread and water in the way;" and, second, because they hired Balaam to curse Israel. It also contained the prohibition, "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite; for he is thy brother" (xxiii. 3-7). This order, like the one respecting the extermination of the Canaanites, is found in Deuteronomy alone. It is not in Numbers or Exodus, nor in the hypothetical documents J and E. Whence, then, did D obtain it? Was it a

traditionary law which D here puts into the mouth of Moses? If so, why does it reverse the traditional attitude of Israel toward these tribes? From the days of David the bitterest hostility had existed between Edom and Israel, while friendly relations had in the main existed between Israel and the Ammonites and Moabites. David's Ammonite war which lasted two years, his severe chastisement of Moab, and the expedition of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram against Moab, are the exceptions. How, then, could D have conceived the idea of putting into the lips of Moses the command that an Edomite shall not be abhorred, but that an Ammonite or a Moabite shall not come into the assembly of Jehovah even to the tenth generation? It is incredible that he did so; but it is most credible that Moses did it, and that Israel in the case of the Edomites were finally led to abhor them on account of their later hostility and treachery.

4. The Predictions in the Book. In the speeches ascribed to Moses many events are predicted, all of which were yet future in the time of Moses, and some were future in the time of the imaginary D. As respects those which were not future to D, it was of course possible for him to put predictions respecting them in the mouth of Moses, and thus write history under the pretense of writing ancient prophecy. This, on the critical hypothesis, was another device intended to deceive the reader by making it appear that Moses had predicted events of which he had never spoken. This might have magnified the name of Moses as a prophet, but what other purpose could have actuated it our critics have not informed us. Indeed, they have overlooked this phase of the subject. Among the events yet future to D, we mention the two captivities of Israel, the many evils consequent upon them, and the final restoration of the remnant.

In chapter xxviii. a long series of sins and punishments is predicted, culminating in this: "Jehovah shall bring thee, and thy king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone" (36). That this is

the Babylonian captivity is made certain by the considerations, first, that their king was to be taken away with them; and, second, that the nation taking them away was not one previously known to them or their fathers. This was true of the Babylonians, or Chaldeans, who came into power on the overthrow of Nineveh after the close of Josiah's reign. At the date ascribed to D, the power of Assyria was at its zenith, and Babylon was one of its subject provinces. Nebuchadnezzar and his Chaldean army, by whom Jerusalem was overthrown and Judah carried into exile, represented a nation which had just sprung into power as if by magic.

Now, it is possible that the hypothetical D, guided by the utterances of the writing prophets, from Amos and Hosea to Isaiah and Micah, could have framed a prediction of the Babylonian captivity, such as we have in this passage; but if this is the way in which he obtained his foreknowledge, he was guilty of a deliberate fraud in putting the prediction back seven hundred years and pretending that Moses had uttered it. Let it be noted, too, that when the book of the law was found in the temple and read to King Josiah, it was this very prediction most of all which so frightened him that he rent his clothes and effected a religious reformation in his kingdom. He may have known that the four great prophets of recent times had predicted the same disaster and have been comparatively unmoved by the fact; but when he heard it out of a book written by Moses, and heard it from the lips of Moses, he believed it and trembled; and yet, on the critical hypothesis, he was frightened by something which Moses never spoke and never dreamed of speaking.

This prediction is followed by a terrific array of the calamities which were to come upon Israel after this captivity, and then at verse 49 another captivity is introduced: "Jehovah shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as the eagle flieth; a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand; a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor show favor to the young; and he shall eat the fruit of thy cattle, and the fruit of thy ground,

until thou be destroyed: which also shall not leave thee corn, wine or oil, or the increase of thy kine, or the young of thy flock, until he have caused thee to perish" (49-51).

This conquering nation is distinguished from the first by three characteristics: first, it was to come "from far, from the end of the earth;" second, its tongue was to be one not understood by Israel; and, third, it was to be unmerciful to all classes of persons. Such were the Romans, by whom Jerusalem was finally overthrown, and the Jews scattered as they are to-day. They came from the end of the earth, the western end, whereas the Chaldeans came from a comparatively short distance. Second, their tongue, the Latin, was as strange to Israel as the Chinese is to an Anglo-Saxon, while the Babylonian was a kindred Semitic dialect. Third, they were more ruthless in the destruction of human life, and they swept the country cleaner of all men and means of subsistence, than had Nebuchadnezzar or Sennacherib. Josephus says (*Wars*, B. vi., c. 9), with perhaps some exaggeration, that they slew 1,100,000 of the population; and he recites many of the cruelties here predicted.

The prediction proceeds: "Thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and daughters which Jehovah thy God hath given thee, in the siege and straitness where-with thy enemies shall straiten thee" (53). The prediction is repeated in the next few verses with horrifying details; and we have the testimony of Josephus, an eye-witness (*ib.*), that these things actually took place during the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, whereas nothing of the kind is mentioned in connection with the siege of Nebuchadnezzar. Furthermore, the prediction goes on to say: "Ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest in to possess it. And Jehovah shall scatter thee among all peoples, from the one end of the earth even to the other end of the earth; and there shall ye serve other gods, which thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers, even wood and stone." The dispersion effected by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans was far less extensive than this. It did not extend westward at all.

Finally, the distresses and persecutions to be endured after the last captivity are portrayed by the prophet in a style scarcely equaled for power and pathos in all the writings of the prophets: "And among all these nations thou shalt find no ease, and there shall be no rest for the sole of thy foot: but Jehovah shall give thee a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and pining of soul: and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee; and thou shalt fear night and day, and shalt have none assurance of thy life: in the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart which thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see" (63-68).

The prediction does not end even here. The train of thought, interrupted by the twenty-ninth chapter, is resumed in the thirtieth, and the prophet adds: "And it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, which I set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind among all the nations, whither Jehovah thy God hath driven thee, and shalt return unto Jehovah thy God, and shalt obey his voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul; that then Jehovah thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the peoples, whither Jehovah thy God hath scattered thee. If any of thine outcasts be in the uttermost parts of the heavens, from thence will Jehovah thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee: and Jehovah thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it; and he will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers" (xxx. 1-5). As this gathering is to follow the last dispersion, and as it is to be universal, which the return from Babylon was not, it is still in the future; and it guarantees the final restoration of Israel to her God, and to the land which he swore to her fathers as an everlasting possession.

Now, it was impossible for the hypothetical D to have uttered these predictions unless he was miraculously inspired;

and if he was thus inspired it is inconceivable that he would have sought to deceive by putting his own words in the mouth of Moses. The prophecy, then, must have come from Moses; and it is in some respects the most wonderful prediction of the future ever uttered by a prophet of Israel. It antedates the predictions of other prophets by from six to eight centuries, and it reaches further down the stream of time than almost any other. It proves Moses to be the greatest prophet that ever lived until the Prophet like unto Moses appeared in the person of the Son of God.

§4. THE QUESTION OF FRAUD.

1. The facts set forth in the two preceding sections necessarily raise the question whether, if Deuteronomy was written in the seventh century, the author was guilty of a fraud. Eminent scholars who can not be charged with speaking through ignorant prejudice, have unhesitatingly affirmed that he was. Thus, Edersheim, speaking of this and other deceptions said to be found in the Old Testament, says:

If, in short, what has gained for the history of Israel pre-eminently the designation of sacred is mostly due to what a later period has "painted over the original picture": then there is, in plain language, only one word to designate all this. That word is *fraud* (*Warburton Lectures*, 219, 220).

Principal Cave, speaking of this evolution theory, says:

It requires the acceptance of the view that the ascription of Deuteronomy to Moses by Deuteronomy itself, is a literary expedient; it requires, in short, belief in the complicity of the holy men of old in a series of pious frauds in authorship extending from the days of Moses to those of Ezra (*Insp. of O. T.*, 299).

J. J. Lias says:

Whether we apply the strong term "forgery" to it or not, there can be little doubt on the part of any high-minded man in any age, that if it was composed in the reigns of Manasseh or Josiah, its method was most dishonest (*Principles of Biblical Criticism*, 112).

Robert Sinker says:

Was it [Deuteronomy] really a discovery of something which had been hidden presumably since the death of Hezekiah, and now, in the providence of God, had been brought to light once more? Or, on the other hand, was it a fraud?—there is no other word to use if the first hypothesis is not true (*Lex M.*, 462).

Stanley Leathes, speaking of the author of the book, says:

If he were a priest, his work would somewhat resemble the modern historical novel, but it could manifestly lay claim to no authority, either in respect to its historical statements, its legal precepts, or its gloomy forebodings; but if it was the work of a prophet, then not only does he come with no credentials, because unknown, but the very fact of his speaking in the name of Moses as no one else does, entirely nullifies his authority, because he comes with a lie in his right hand and offers it to us as the gift of God (*Lex M.*, 444).

We close these citations, which might be extended much further, with the following from Principal Douglas:

Did Jehovah, the God of truth, make use of deceit and forgery, in what professed to be his word by Moses? I believe that forgery is an ugly word, and that the critics dislike its use in this connection. I should be glad to gratify them if I found a pleasant word to express my meaning (*ib.*, 60).

2. The Charge of Fraud Admitted. When Principal Douglas, as quoted above, says that the word "forgery" in this connection is disliked by the critics, he means English critics like Driver, Ryle, Robertson Smith, and others. It is scarcely true of the originators of this criticism, from whom these English scholars have accepted it. The former not only do not deny the charge of fraud, but they claim that this is the true representation of the case. Kuenen says:

It is thus certain that an author of the seventh century, B. C., has made Moses himself proclaim that which, in his opinion, it was expedient in the interest of the Mosaic party to announce and introduce. At a time when notions about literary property were yet in their infancy, an act of this kind was not regarded as at all unlawful. Men used to perpetrate such fictions as these without any qualms of conscience (*Religion of Israel*, ii. 19).

According to this, the author was of the "Mosaic party" as opposed to the party of the "high places," and he perpetrated his fiction to gain a party advantage. This was a fraudulent element in the deception. Again, Kuenen says:

Deuteronomy was not written for the mere sake of writing, but to change the whole condition of the kingdom. The author and his party can not have made the execution of their programme depend upon a lucky accident. If Hilkiah found the book in the temple, it was put there by the adherents of the Mosaic tendency. Or else Hilkiah himself was of their number, and in that case he pretended that he had found the book of the law. This provision for the delivery of their programme to the king was of a piece with the composition of the programme itself. It is true this deception is much more unjustifiable

still than the introduction of Moses as speaking. But we must reflect here, also, that the ideas of those days were not as ours, but considerably less strict. Now or never the Mosaic party had to gain their end (*ib.*).

Kuenen says much more of the same sort, but this is enough to show that one of the chief originators of the so-called critical theory deliberately pronounces it a fraud perpetrated for party advantage. His remark that men used to perpetrate such fictions without any qualms of conscience, is undoubtedly true of a certain class of men, and it is equally true of a similar class at the present day. Witness the forged letter which came so near defeating the election of James A. Garfield to the Presidency of our republic. To lie and cheat for party advantage is in these days called "practical politics." It seems, if you believe Kuenen, that they had "practical politics" among the Jews in the days of Josiah, and that Deuteronomy is one of its products.

Wellhausen quotes Reuss, the eminent French critic, as saying that "Deuteronomy is the book that the priests pretended to find at the temple in the time of King Josiah" (*Prolegomena*, p. 4); and Wellhausen himself says, "In all circles where appreciation of scientific results can be looked for at all, it is recognized that it was composed in the same age in which it was discovered." Putting the two together, we have the assertion that the priests "pretended" to find it, knowing that it had not been lost, and that it had been recently written. They then practiced an imposition on the king and the people.

Prof. T. K. Cheyne, not a German rationalist, but an English clergyman and a professor in Oxford University, calls attention to the assured fact that the king was the only person who was "vehemently moved" by the reading of the book, while, as he asserts, Hilkiyah, Shaphan and Huldah were imperturbable, and adds: "The easiest supposition is that these three persons had agreed together, unknown to the king, on their course of action." According to this, the whole of the procedure on the part of these persons described in the Book of Kings, was a preconcerted affair, and, strange to say, this English clergyman suggests that "to the priests and prophets who loved spirit-

ual religion God had revealed that now was the time to take a bold step forward, and accomplish the work which the noblest servants of Jehovah had so long desired" (*Founders of O. T. Criticism*, 267, 268). With respect to this last remark, it is not surprising that Dr. Robert Skinner exclaims: "It has been reserved for an Anglican clergyman to make the Deity himself an instigator of the fraud, call it by what pleasant euphemism we will" (*Lex. M.*, 464).

We now see that the parties at the two extremes of this controversy—those who oppose the new theory, and those who have originated and developed it—are agreed in regarding the book as a fraud perpetrated by the joint action of its composers and its pretended discoverers.

3. The Charge Denied. Some other scholars, chiefly our British and American critics, have undertaken to strike a golden mean, and, while admitting that the use of the name of Moses was a fiction, to deny that a fraud was perpetrated. Professor Driver has made the most elaborate and ingenious argument on this point, and we shall follow in the main his presentation of the case. It is found in his *Introduction*, pages 89-93. He begins the discussion by the following statement of the issue:

If it be true that Deuteronomy is the composition of another than Moses, in what light are we to regard it? In particular, does this view of its origin detract from its value and authority as a part of the Old Testament Canon? The objection is commonly made, that, if this be the origin of the book, it is a "forgery;" the author, it is said, has sought to shelter himself under a great name, and to secure by fiction recognition or authority for a number of laws devised by himself (89).

Strange to say, his first argument in reply to this objection is, that Deuteronomy does not claim to be written by Moses: whenever the author speaks himself, he purports to give a description *in the third person* of what Moses did or said. It is sufficient, in answer to this, to refer the reader to what we have set forth in the first division of this section. But we add that Driver's defense of this allegation, given in a footnote, is as remarkable as the allegation itself. He says: "Undoubtedly the third person *may* have been used by Moses; but

It is unreasonable to assert that he *must* have used it, or to contend that passages in which it occurs could *only* have been written by him." The last two clauses miss their mark. No one has ever so asserted or contended, and the admission in the first clause, that Moses *may* have used the third person, empties the argument based on this usage of all the force which he imagines it to possess.

He does not forget that in addition to what is said about writing "this law," the author asserts that Moses delivered orally its chief contents before they were written; and he aims to set this aside by the following assertions:

The true author is thus the writer who *introduces Moses in the third person*; and the discourses which he is represented as having spoken, fall in consequence into the same category as the speeches in the historical books, some of which largely, and other entirely, are the compositions of the compilers and are placed by them in the mouths of historical characters. This freedom in ascribing speeches to historical personages is characteristic, more or less, of ancient historians generally; and it certainly was followed by Hebrew historians (90).

If what is here said of Hebrew historians is true, it by no means follows that a man who had not the slightest pretense of authority to make laws, could without fraud write laws and put them into the mouth of an ancient lawgiver; and especially, as in the case of the law regarding altars, could abolish the law which it is conceded that God gave through Moses, and, in the name of Moses, enact a different one—one which, according to our critics themselves, was intended to work a complete revolution in the divinely appointed ritual of the nation. Professor Driver very innocently overlooks this obvious distinction.

But what is the evidence that Hebrew historians did compose speeches and put them in the mouths of historical personages. "The proof lies," says Professor Driver, "in the great similarity of style which those speeches constantly exhibit to the parts of the narrative which are evidently the work of the compiler himself." This is an old argument of the enemies of the Bible. It has been employed to discredit not only Old Testament books, but those of the New Testament likewise,

especially the Book of Acts and the Gospel of John. The most that can be said in its favor is, that in reporting actual speeches the historians have in some instances expressed the speaker's idea in somewhat different words; but to charge them with putting speeches into the mouths of men which they never uttered at all, is to charge them with the same fraud which is charged upon the author of Deuteronomy, and of which he was certainly guilty if he was not Moses. Driver further says:

It is an altogether false view of the laws in Deuteronomy to treat them as the author's inventions. . . . On the whole, the laws of Deuteronomy are unquestionably derived from pre-existent usage; and the object of the author is to insist upon their importance, and to supply motives for their observance. The new element in Deuteronomy is not the laws, but their parenetic setting (91).

This is certainly true of many of these laws, especially of those which are mere repetitions in different words of those contained in Exodus and Numbers; but the most distinctive law in the whole book, and one which abrogated local sanctuaries, if we believe Driver himself and all the scholars of his school, is confessedly new, and not only was it new, but it formally abolished the law of sacrifices which God himself gave to Israel in the beginning. It required the destruction of all the altars on high places which had been up to that time places of worship approved by the law of God. And this is done, not, as we have just said, by any one clothed with authority, but by an irresponsible writer whose very name never became public. And this was not the only new law which this unauthorized author enacted, as we have seen in the section preceding this. This excuse for the hypothetical D is too thin a veil to cover his fraud. This is the way the matter would stand if the fraud had stopped with the mere writing of the book; but the worst part of it is that the author and others entered into a conspiracy to deceive the king, without which the attempted revolution would not have been effected, and the book would have fallen still-born.

Again our critic says:

Deuteronomy may be described as the *prophetic re-formulation*, and *adaptation to new needs, of an older legislation* (91)

How can it be thus described, when it contains new laws never before known in Israel; when, as Driver himself persistently argues, it contradicts many of the provisions of the older legislation, provisions enacted by divine authority; and when those who contrived it had distinctly in view the abrogation of some of the older laws? When writing as an apologist for the book, he seems to totally forget what he wrote as its critic.

Finally, we are told that "there is nothing in Deuteronomy implying an interested or dishonest motive on the part of the post-Mosaic author: and this being so, its moral and spiritual greatness remains unimpaired; its inspired authority is in no respect less than that of any other part of the Old Testament Scriptures which happens to be anonymous" (*ib.*). In making this statement, our critic again forgets that on the critical hypothesis one leading purpose of the party to which D and his collaborators belonged, was to gain a victory over the priests and worshipers at the high places, whose ritual had been from the days of Moses divinely authorized, and to concentrate all offerings and tithes at the temple in Jerusalem. Was this not an interested motive? Did it not secure a party triumph to the so-called Mosaic party? And did it not turn into the treasury of the Jerusalem priests a revenue of which the priests of the high places were by the same act deprived? And this, too, an income to which the latter priests were by the ancient law of God clearly entitled? Suppose that a conspiracy made up among the Dissenters in England, who conscientiously believe that the good of the English people would be promoted by the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, should succeed in writing and palming off upon king and Parliament a series of discourses professedly delivered by the apostle Paul, and recently found in an Egyptian sepulchre, condemning in most unmistakable terms the existence of a state church; would the Anglican clergy, on giving up their rich estates and endowments, agree that the authors of that book had no "interested or dishonest motive"? I think not.

Professor Driver is now, I believe, a canon in that church. The case being altered would alter the case.

It is very strange, in view of what our critic says of Deuteronomy in this very defense of its author, to hear him finally speak of the "inspiration" of its author, and to claim that this is no less than that of any other Old Testament writer. It would be interesting to see from his pen a definition of inspiration. We hear a great deal in this country about a prohibition that does not prohibit. We read a great deal more in the writings of "modern scientific critics" about an inspiration that did not inspire.

The allusion in the last citation from Driver, to the "moral and spiritual greatness" of Deuteronomy, implies a merited eulogy on this book. In these respects it stands high above all other writings in the Old Testament, unless they be some of the Psalms. It is the especial merit of Andrew Harper to exalt this element of the book as does no other writer of my acquaintance. This characteristic lifts the author of the book as high as heaven above the resort to trickery and deception in order to win a cause against an opposing party. An author in the days of Josiah whose soul was filled with such sentiments, and capable of expressing them as he does, could not possibly have descended to the composition of this book as we have it, and to its publication under the circumstances described in the Book of Kings. This alone is sufficient proof that the book came as it professes to have come, from the heart and brain of Moses, as that heart and brain were fired and guided by the Spirit of God.

Prof. C. A. Briggs, in arguing the question of fraud, follows close on the track of Driver; but he makes one admission which is worthy of note. Answering the argument that the author of Kings and the prophet Jeremiah would not have joined hands to deceive the people, even with the pious end in view of serving Jehovah and saving the nation, he says:

This is valid as against a new code, but not as against a new codification of an ancient code (*H. C. of H.*, 87).

So far, then, as the book did contain a new code, our argument is admitted to be valid; and it is also admitted by all the critics that the distinctive feature of Deuteronomy, that feature which led to Josiah's religious revolution, *was new*. They insist that it had never before been heard of. Professor Briggs, then, should admit that on his own showing a fraud was committed in which neither the author of Kings nor the prophet Jeremiah could have joined hands. But they did join hands in enforcing the law of Deuteronomy, and this is proof enough that the book did not originate as these critics have affirmed.

We close this discussion by noticing a single sentence in Andrew Harper's argument on the same question. He says:

If we take into account the character of Deuteronomy as only an extension and adaptation of the book of the covenant set in a framework of affectionate exhortation, and that all men then believed that the book of the covenant was Mosaic, we can see better how such action might be considered legitimate (*Com.*, 30).

Here this writer, like Driver and Briggs, forgets for the moment that, according to the critical hypothesis which they all advocate, Deuteronomy was not a mere "expansion and adaptation of the book of the covenant;" for it contained provisions contradictory of some in the book of the covenant, and it sought to abrogate the law in that book authorizing a plurality of altars, and to substitute a law in direct opposition to it. Furthermore, as it is here admitted that "all men then believed the book of the covenant was Mosaic," it follows that all men would have been compelled to see in this new book an attempt to abolish in the name of Moses a law which Moses had given, and to do this after Moses had been dead for seven centuries.

The reader has now before him in full the attempt which the intermediary critics have made, in opposition to the fathers of their system on the one hand, and to the antagonists of it on the other, to explain away the fraud involved in their theory of the origin of this book. If fraud was not perpetrated, the book was written by Moses as it claims to have been.

§5. POSITIVE EVIDENCE IN THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

1. Jehovah's Charge to Joshua. We find in Joshua a direct continuance of the history in Numbers and Deuteronomy. The former closes with this statement: "These are the commandments and the judgements, which Jehovah commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho." The latter closed its historical portion, before the account of the death of Moses was appended, with the statement that Moses wrote "this law." The Book of Joshua opens with an address by Jehovah to Joshua, in which occurs this admonition: "Only be strong and very courageous, to observe to do according to all the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest have good success whithersoever thou goest. This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success" (i. 7, 8). These words are worthy of Jehovah, and it is hard to believe that they were written by some human being and put into his mouth. If they were spoken as here described, they make it absolutely certain that when Joshua took command of the hosts of Israel he already held in his hand the book of the law of Moses.

We shall now see how this piece of history is dealt with by our critics. Driver paves the way for an explanation by saying:

In this book, JE, before it was combined with P, passed through the hands of a writer who expanded it in different ways, and who, being strongly imbued with the spirit of Deuteronomy, may be termed the Deuteronomic editor, and denoted by the abbreviation D^e. The parts added by this writer are in most cases readily recognized by their characteristic style (*Int.*, 104).

That the reader who is not an expert in critical signs may understand this, let us remember that according to the analytical theory of the "Hexateuch" the hypothetical writers J and E each wrote a narrative beginning with Adam and coming

down to the death of Joshua. The two were combined in one by an editor, and the resulting document was JE. But our Joshua is not the original left by JE. Before it reached its present form it was edited by an author who made additions to it "in the spirit of Deuteronomy," and on this account he is called D². He wrote, of course, after Deuteronomy had been discovered by Hilkiah. All passages, therefore, which would prove that the latter was written before Joshua, were added to the original Joshua by this D². So, on the next page, Driver says:

Chapter i. is based probably upon an earlier and shorter narrative, from which, for instance, the substance of verses 1, 2, 10 and 11 may be derived, but in its present form it is the composition of D².

And what is the proof of this? The next sentence gives it: "It is constructed almost entirely of phrases borrowed from Deuteronomy." Then follows a list of these phrases.

Let us suppose, now, that all the phrases cited, and as many more as you please, were actually borrowed from Deuteronomy; and what does it prove? It proves precisely what Driver aims to prove by it, that Deuteronomy was written before these passages in Joshua were. But that is precisely what is true if Deuteronomy was written by Moses. Its bearing, then, on the question whether Moses is the author of Deuteronomy, is absolutely *nil*. It leaves the evidence from this first chapter of Joshua, that he had in hand the book of the law of Moses, untouched; and this chapter, if it stood alone, would prove conclusively, to a candid mind, that the book of the law came from the hand of Moses.

In thus disposing of this evidence, Driver has not only made an argument that is good for the Mosaic authorship, but he has inadvertently done the same in another remark following the one first quoted above:

The chief aim of these Deuteronomic additions to JE is to illustrate and emphasize the zeal shown by Joshua in fulfilling Mosaic ordinances, especially the command to extirpate the native population of Canaan, and the success which in consequence crowned his efforts (104).

The command "to extirpate the native population of Canaan" was, then, a "Mosaic ordinance," was it? It certainly

was. But it is found only in Deuteronomy. In the other books there is the command to "drive them out" (Ex. xxiii. 27-33; Num. xxxiii. 50-56), but only in Deuteronomy is found the command to extirpate them (xx. 16-18). This, then, is "the Mosaic ordinance" the fulfilling of which showed the zeal of Joshua, and thus Driver has inadvertently admitted that Deuteronomy is Mosaic. Men often reveal the truth by their very efforts to conceal it. The case is much like that in the old story of the man who was sued by his neighbor for a kettle which he had borrowed and sent home with a crack in it. His plea before the magistrate was this: "In the first place, may it please Your Honor, I never borrowed the kettle. In the second place, it was cracked when I got it. In the third place, it was sound when I took it home."

2. The Case of the Altar Ed. The twenty-second chapter of Joshua contains a narrative which, if true, demonstrates the pre-existence of the Book of Deuteronomy, and therefore its Mosaic origin. It does so by showing that the distinctive legislation of Deuteronomy as interpreted by destructive critics, the restriction of sacrifices under the law to one central altar, existed and was in force when Joshua succeeded Moses. The warriors of the two and a half tribes whose homes had been assigned them east of the Jordan, having served with their brethren through the war of conquest, are dismissed by Joshua with his blessing, and they march away to their families (1-8). When they reach the vicinity of the Jordan they build an altar, probably on a mountain overlooking the Jordan valley, so large that it is styled in the quaint phraseology of the text, "a great altar to see to" (ix. 10). The report of this undertaking spreads like wild-fire through all the tribes, "and the whole congregation of the children of Israel gathered themselves together at Shiloh, to go up against them to war" (xi. 12). This shows that the erection of another altar than the one constructed by Moses, was held to be unlawful, and to such a degree criminal as to justify making war on those who might be guilty of it.

At this point another law, the denial of the existence of which at this early date is common with our critics, is carefully observed. It is the law that when Israel should hear that any city of their people had turned away to idolatry they should "inquire, and make search, and ask diligently," and "if it be true, and the thing certain," they should go and smite the inhabitants and utterly destroy the city (Deut. xiii. 12-18). Believing that the two and a half tribes were erecting this altar as an act of rebellion against Jehovah (verse 16), and that the law just cited was applicable in the case, the people sent Phinehas, who was yet alive, with ten princes, one representing each of the tribes, to make the careful inquiry enjoined by this law (13-20).

The remonstrance was met by a most emphatic and indignant denial that they were erecting the altar for the purpose of offering on it any kind of sacrifice; and the respondents admit that if they were, they would not deserve to be spared (21-24). They state their real purpose to be the erection of a monument to bear witness in coming ages that they, although separated from the main body of the nation by the river and its deep valley, were a constituent part of the people who offered sacrifice to Jehovah on an altar of this pattern (24-29). The deputation was pleased with the answer, Phinehas pronounced a benediction on the builders, and all Israel was delighted when the commissioners returned and made their report (30-34).

Now, whoever wrote this account, and whatever date may be assigned to the Book of Joshua, if the account is true, all debate about the Mosaic authorship of the Book of Deuteronomy ought here to terminate.

But let us hear how the destructive critics dispose of this evidence. Of course, they must dispose of it or give up their whole contention about the origin of Deuteronomy. Robertson Smith says of it:

Chap. xxii. 9-34 is a very peculiar piece, which has its closest parallel in Judges xx. Both chapters are for the most part post-priestly, and certainly not historical (*O. T.*, 413).

No reason whatever does he assign for this decision. But, reason or no reason, he was forced to the decision to prevent his theory from breaking down. It was a case of necessity somewhat like that of Uncle Remus's rabbit:

"Br'er Fox was chasing Br'er Rabbit, and getting closer and closer, closer and closer, so Br'er Rabbit clumb a tree."

"Hold on, Uncle Remus," said the little boy who was listening, "you know a rabbit can't climb a tree."

"I know he can't, honey, but dat rabbit was 'bleeged to climb a tree."

Professor Driver treats the passage with a little more respect. He says:

The source of verses 9-34 is uncertain. The phraseology is in the main that of P; but the narrative does not display throughout the characteristic style of P, and in some parts of it there occur expressions which are not those of P. Either a narrative of P. has been combined with elements from another source in a manner which makes it difficult to effect a satisfactory analysis, or the whole of it is the work of a distinct writer, whose phraseology is in part that of P, but not entirely (*Int.*, 113).

This is foggy enough for any German author. If it is the best that the clear-headed Driver can do, Robertson Smith might well say, as quoted above, that the passage is "a very peculiar piece." If Driver could settle down on the assertion that P wrote it, this would place its origin nearly a thousand years after the days of Joshua and Phinehas, and it would be equivalent to Robertson Smith's flat assertion that it is certainly unhistorical. But Driver can not do this. He runs about through the fog trying to find a place for it, and finally drops it, nobody knows where.

Professor Bennett, editor of the Polychrome Joshua, succeeds no better than Smith or Driver. After remarking that "the problem of this section is very difficult," he says:

As it bears no sufficient marks of having passed through the hands of the Deuteronomic editor, we gather that the story in its original form did not seem to him of an edifying character, and was therefore omitted from his edition of Joshua (*Notes on Joshua, in loco*).

This Deuteronomic editor, then, called by Driver and others D², wrote an "edition of Joshua"! This story was al-

ready in existence, and D² had seen it, but, seeing nothing edifying in it, he left it out of his book. But why could he see nothing edifying in it, when it so completely confirmed his own assumption that Deuteronomy came from Moses, and when it presented Phinehas, the two and a half tribes, and all Israel as displaying a devotion to the law of God, and a regard for one another, that is truly edifying? This is a lame excuse invented to account for an assumption that is lamer still. Bennett adds:

The original story can not therefore have had for its moral the obligation to restrict Israel to a single altar; for to establish this restriction is a main object of Deuteronomy.

This means, that if the Deuteronomic editor had seen in the story the purpose to restrict Israel to one altar, he would have copied it into his edition of Joshua. Well, if he could not see that, he was blind; for Robertson Smith saw it, Driver sees it, Bennett sees it and everybody now living can see it. It is as plain as the sun in the sky. These two authors would have done better to follow Smith's plan, deny the truth of the story, and stop there. Smith saw, no doubt, that to go further would be to run into a fog bank, and he prudently kept out. The rabbit might have run into a briar patch, but there the fox would have caught him; so it was prudent in Uncle Remus to let him climb a tree.

3. The Devoted in Jericho. When Jehovah gave directions about the destruction of Jericho, he is said to have uttered these words: "The city shall be devoted, even it and all that is therein, to Jehovah: only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers that we sent. And ye, in anywise keep yourselves from the devoted thing, lest when ye have devoted it, ye take of the devoted thing: so shall ye make the camp of Israel devoted, and trouble it" (vi. 17, 18).

Now, without some preceding instruction in reference to the meaning of the word "devoted," this command would have been very obscure, even if it had been at all intelligible to Israel. It is now obscure to many a Bible reader who has not

learned something of it elsewhere. All such readers have to take it for granted that a command on which the life of every man in the camp might be involved was understood by the people, though he can not clearly understand it himself. But what previous source of understanding did the people have on the subject? If they were already in possession of the Books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, all was plain enough; for in the former they would have read, "No devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto Jehovah of all that he hath, whether of man or beast, or of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is most holy unto Jehovah. None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be ransomed; he shall surely be put to death" (Lev. xxvii. 28, 29). And in the latter they would have read: "But of the cities of these peoples, which Jehovah thy God giveth thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth: but thou shalt utterly destroy [devote] them" (xx. 16, 17). By these two books of the law the people would have known what it meant to devote any person or thing, and from the latter especially they would have known that the cities of Canaan were to be thus devoted. It follows, that if this account in Joshua is true, these laws existed before Joshua took Jericho, and consequently that they came, as they professed to have come, from the hand of Moses.

This conclusion being fatal to the critical hypothesis, our critics are compelled to deny the truth of the story. We should expect them in this instance, as in the two disposed of above, to ascribe the account to D², or to some other writer of later date than Deuteronomy. But this is not their device. For some reason best known to themselves, they assign the story to JE, the composite document that was in circulation before Deuteronomy was found by Hilki'ah. (See Driver, *Int.*, 106; *D. of H.*; Addis, 106, cf. 210.) To the full extent that this assignment has any probability, it is evidence in favor of the early date of both Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and evidence furnished by the critics themselves.

The Polychrome Joshua changes colors *thirty-eight* times to represent the many sources whence some later critics imagine the twenty-seven verses of this chapter to have been derived. This is one of the countless absurdities in which the analytical critics involve themselves.

4. The Altar at Mount Ebal, and the Reading. The account of this well-known transaction is given in Josh. viii. 30-35. It is introduced with these statements: "Then Joshua built an altar unto Jehovah the God of Israel, in mount Ebal, as Moses the servant of God commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of unhewn stones, upon which no man had lift up any iron: and they offered thereon burnt offerings unto Jehovah, and peace offerings."

Here it is expressly stated that this, and the rest of these proceedings, had been commanded by Moses, "as it is written in the book of the law of Moses." But the only book in which such an order was written, is the Book of Deuteronomy (xi. 29; xxvii. 1-14). If, then, the account in Joshua is not false; if, in other words, Joshua actually built this altar, and conducted the other proceedings here described, then beyond all possibility of doubt the Book of Deuteronomy came from Moses. There is no way in which to avoid this conclusion except by robbing this account of all truthfulness. This the destructive critics do without hesitation. It is with them another case of necessity. They ascribe the account to D² (Driver, 106). This means that, after the publication of Deuteronomy in the reign of Josiah, an editor "imbued with the spirit of Deuteronomy" got out a new edition of Joshua, and inserted in it this account. And why did he insert it? He could have had no motive except to make it appear that the command in Deuteronomy was obeyed by Joshua; and this, when he knew that Deuteronomy was written centuries after the death of Joshua, and that Joshua had never heard of such a command. In other words, Moses had been falsely represented in Deuteronomy as having given this command, and then, to bolster up this false ascription to Moses, Joshua is falsely represented

as obeying the command. All this was done, and yet our apologetical critics insist that *no fraud was committed*. It is becoming wearisome to note how often these critics deliberately set aside, as untrue, pieces of history for no other reason than that they conflict with their critical theory. They persist in this unscientific method in the boasted name of "modern scientific criticism."

5. The Doom of the Gibeonites. The account in the ninth chapter of Joshua of the cunning device of the Gibeonites, contains another proof that Joshua was in possession of the Book of Deuteronomy. It uproots, at one blow, two of the "assured results" of "modern scientific criticism." Three times in the latter part of the chapter it is asserted, once in the words of Joshua, and twice in those of the author, that the Gibeonites were doomed to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is expressed, the third time, in these words: "And Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of Jehovah, unto this day, in the place which he should choose" (verse 27). In the lips of Joshua, pronouncing the sentence, the expression is, "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God" (23).

If this account is true, it follows that the tabernacle here called by Joshua "the house of my God," had a real existence, contrary to the united voice of the destructive critics. It follows also, that Israel then had, in contradistinction to the many altars of the critics, one styled "the altar of Jehovah;" and that to this the Gibeonites were to bring water and wood "in the place which he should choose." This evidence is so obvious and so incontrovertible that the critics are again compelled, by the demands of their foregone conclusions, to pronounce it false. They ascribe the twenty-seventh verse to JE, thus admitting its existence before the date they assign to D, though only as a tradition; but they detach the last clause, "in the place which he shall choose," and assign it to D² (Driver, *Int.* 107). To such trifling they find it necessary to descend, in order to keep Deuteronomy this side of Joshua. The Poly-

chrome Joshua disposes of this clause in the same way, and it changes colors *twenty-one* times in representing the various sources of this account of the Gibeonites.

6. The Cities of Refuge. In Josh. xx. 1, 2, we read: "And Jehovah spake to Joshua, saying, Speak to the children of Israel, saying, Assign you the cities of refuge, whereof I spake unto you by the hand of Moses;" and this is followed by the account of formally setting apart six cities, which are named (7, 8). Now, unless some one has here put into the mouth of Jehovah words which he never uttered, and which are not true, he had, previously to this time, given commandment "by the hand of Moses" respecting the assignment of these cities. As the Pentateuch now stands, the first command on the subject is in the thirty-fifth chapter of Numbers. There the order to appoint cities of refuge is given, the number of them is stated, and the law by which their use is to be regulated is elaborated. No one of the cities is named. Next, in Deut. iv. 41-43, it is said that Moses, after the conquest of the country east of the Jordan, selected three of them, and their names are given. Next, in Deut. xix. 1-13, Moses directs that after they shall have possessed the country west of the Jordan, they shall select three cities of refuge on that side; he repeats the law less elaborately, and orders that if Jehovah shall enlarge their borders, and give them all the land promised to their fathers, they shall add three other cities on that side, so that all manslayers may have the benefit of a place of refuge. Their borders were never thus extended until the reign of David, and they remained so only till the close of Solomon's reign, and consequently these three additional cities were never appointed.

Now, whatever may be the origin of the words quoted above from Joshua, they refer back to these passages in Numbers and Deuteronomy; or, at least, to the latter. If God actually spoke them, as is here asserted, then Deuteronomy, or Numbers, or both, had certainly been written before Joshua selected the three western cities. On the other hand, if these books had not been already written, then some editor who lived after

they were written, put these words into the mouth of Jehovah—words which he never uttered—for the purpose of making people believe that Deuteronomy did precede Joshua, and did come from the hand of Moses. Thus again the critics are found guilty of repudiating a piece of history which stands in the way of their theory. This false ascription of words to Jehovah is credited to P, the writer of the laws in Numbers, who wrote after the Babylonian exile (Driver, *Int.*, 112; *Poly. Josh.*, *in loco*).

7. The Levitical Cities. In the twenty-first chapter of Joshua we have an account of the distribution of forty-eight cities among the Levites, and it is preceded by this statement: "Then came near the heads of the fathers' houses of the Levites unto Eleazar the priest, and unto Joshua the son of Nun, and unto the heads of the fathers' houses of the tribes of the children of Israel; and they spake unto them at Shiloh in the land of Canaan, saying, Jehovah commanded by the hand of Moses to give us cities to dwell in, with the suburbs thereof for our cattle." This command is found in Num. xxxv. 1-8. Did the Levites thus come to Eleazar and Joshua, and the elders, with their petition? Did they thus say that Jehovah had commanded "by the hand of Moses" that the cities should be given them? With one voice the destructive critics answer, No. This piece of history must be rejected; and why? Because it demands the pre-existence of the Book of Numbers. And if it is not true, by whom and for what purpose was it written in this book? The answer is that it was written by P, a thousand years after Joshua, and for the purpose of still further leading the readers of Joshua to accept the deception that Numbers preceded Joshua and came from Moses. And yet, no fraud was perpetrated!

After this review of the evidence for the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy and the earlier law-books which is furnished by the Book of Joshua, the reader can more adequately appreciate the remark of Robertson Smith, "I exclude the Book of Joshua." (See page 137.)

§6. IN THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

In answering the charge of Robertson Smith that the whole Book of Judges is Levitically false (Part First, §7, 3), I have not only refuted, I think, every argument in support of that charge, but I have turned some of them into evidence to the contrary. There remain for notice in the present section only a few passages which clearly imply that the law was well known during the constant violation of some of its precepts in that period.

1. We cite, first, Jehovah's quotation of his own former words. Speaking through the angel at Bochim, he declared: "I said I will never break my covenant with you: and ye shall make no covenant with the people of this land; ye shall break down their altars: but ye have not hearkened to my voice: why have ye done this? Wherefore I also said, I will not drive them out from before you; but they shall be as thorns in your side, and their gods shall be a snare to you" (ii. 1-3). Here are three things which Jehovah declares that he had said to them before. But when had he said them? The first, "I will never break my covenant with you," is found in Lev. xxvi. 44; the second, "Ye shall make no covenant with the people of the land," is found in Ex. xxiii. 32, and also in Deut. vii. 2; and the third, "I will not drive them out before you," in Josh. xxiii. 13. The words employed assume that the people addressed had knowledge that Jehovah had said these things. They could doubtless remember having heard the utterance that is found in Joshua; but the passages in Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy were uttered before any of the generation addressed by the angel were born. Their source of information, then, must have been the written documents; and from this we are safe in inferring that these three books came from Moses.

There is just one way to evade the force of this evidence, and that is the one usual with our critics, to deny the reality of the angel's visit and rebuke. In the Polychrome Judges the account is relegated to an author or editor who wrote after

the Babylonian exile (p. 3; cf. 46). What motive could have prompted a writer at this date to invent and add this story, is not stated even conjecturally; but the motive which prompts the modern scientific critic to invent this conjectural editor, and to charge him with inventing this story, is quite manifest. As the passage stands, it falsifies the theory of the late origin of the books which it refers to, and it must be gotten rid of at any cost of reason and common sense.

In view of these quotations from Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy, it may be well in passing to notice De Wette's reckless statement that "the book [Judges] contains no direct reference, or even allusion, to the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua" (quoted by Valpey French, *Lex Mosaica*, 127). Even G. F. Moore, editor of the Polychrome Judges, admits that the speech ascribed to the angel is "made up of reminiscences from Exodus, Deuteronomy and Joshua" (51).

2. The Nazirite Vow. When the angel of Jehovah appeared to the wife of Manoah to announce the birth of Samson, he said to her, "No razor shall come upon his head: for the child shall be a Nazirite unto God from the womb" (xiii. 5). The woman understood this, and so did her husband when it was told to him. But how did they know what a Nazirite was? The word is not found in any earlier portion of the Scriptures, except in the sixth chapter of Numbers, where the law of the Nazirite vow is given. If that law had been given by Moses, all is explained; but, if not, there is no explanation of the fact that Manoah and his wife both knew at once what a Nazirite was. They evidently knew also the connection between being a Nazirite and not having a razor to come upon his head.

We should naturally suppose that the critics would ascribe this account to some editor who lived after the date which they assign to the Book of Numbers, and thus prevent it from proving the early date of that book. But no, they unitedly ascribe it to J, as one of the traditions which had come down orally through several centuries. Robertson Smith tries to account for it by the custom of ancient peoples burning their

hair as a sign of mourning, or as an offering to some god. But this is a palpable failure; for Samson never burnt his hair, but wore it until the treacherous Delilah cut it off; and even then there is no account of its being burned. Professor Briggs argues that Samson could not have been under the Nazirite vow of Numbers, because he handled the jaw-bone of an ass, whereas the Nazirite of Numbers was forbidden to touch anything unclean. But the professor strangely forgets that Samson was not very scrupulous about keeping the law, and even if he had been ever so scrupulous, when more than a thousand Philistines were rushing at him to kill him, and the jaw-bone of an ass was the only weapon in sight, he could not hesitate to use it. If Professor Briggs were a Chinaman, and about as well instructed in American customs as he is in the Scriptures, on reading in a newspaper that an American had drawn from his pocket a pistol and killed his assailant, he would exclaim, That can not be true; for in America it is unlawful for a man to carry a pistol in his pocket! Prof. G. F. Moore, in *Polychrome Judges*, says that the "stories of Samson," as he styles them, "more clearly than any other tales in the book, bear the marks of popular origin, and doubtless had been repeated by generations of Israelite story-tellers before they were first written down" (p. 82). They doubtless had been repeated in every Jewish household until the time that the hypothetical J is supposed to have lived; and the best way to account for this is that they were written in the Book of Judges so that they could not be forgotten. They have been repeated in every Jewish and every Christian household, to the great delight of the small boy, down to the present day, and they will be until the end of time; and they are so repeated just because they are in a book which is supposed to be truthful. But the question still remains, How did the story-tellers who first began to tell these stories in ancient Israel know anything about the Nazirite vow, so as to put both Samson and his mother under its restrictions? If there is any other answer than that they knew it because it had been given by Moses and written in the Book of Numbers, none such worthy

of a moment's consideration has yet been discovered by our erudite and industrious critics.²⁰ If they have not found it yet, when will they? And until they do, all the discredit which they can cast upon the story will never rob it of its proof that the law of the Nazirite was given by Moses, and that the book in which it is written was from his pen. (See Valpey French, *Lex Mosaica*, 157-160.)

3. Peace-offerings. After the second battle of the other tribes against the tribe of Benjamin, the former offered burnt offerings and peace-offerings (xx. 26), and they did the same after the last battle (xxi. 4). This was while Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron, was still alive (xx. 27), and consequently many persons were still alive who had lived with Moses. Now, the burnt offering is the only one in which the whole flesh of the animal was burned on the altar, while the peace-offering is the one of which none of the flesh was burned. The former had been known since the days of Cain and Abel; but the latter was a creation of the law of Moses. It is first mentioned and partly defined in the Book of Exodus (xxix. 28); it is more fully defined in Leviticus (iii. and vii.); and in Deuteronomy an addition is made to the portion given the priest. The flesh was partly eaten by the offerer and his friends, and partly by the officiating priest, while only the fat, the kidneys and the gall were offered to God on the altar. If the people of Israel actually offered peace-offerings on the two occasions just mentioned, then the law of Moses had already been given, and many who participated on these occasions had personal remembrance of the fact.

The only way to evade the force of this evidence is the

²⁰ Kuenen says: "The Nazarite vow is regulated by law in the Pentateuch. But the practice itself is much older than this law, especially the Nazariteship for life, of which we have the first example in Samuel" (*Rel. of Israel*, I. 316). The first of these assertions can be made only by assuming that the law was given later than the time of Samuel; the second, only by denying the account of Samson; and in all there is a failure to account for the origin of the vow. A history of the religion of Israel which fails to account for this remarkable feature of it shows by the very fact that it is not derived from authentic sources. The real sources it rejects.

one which is the constant resort of the critics; that is, to deny the facts in the case. The account in Judges is ascribed to "the post-exilic editor or author." As this imaginary personage lived after the Babylonian exile, he had no means of knowing what occurred in the time of the Judges, and consequently he made up his stories out of unfounded oral traditions. Thus again "historical criticism" makes out its case by the denial of history. Prof. G. F. Moore, in the *International Critical Commentary on Judges*, says, "In the whole description of the war there is hardly a semblance of reality" (p. 405), and again, "It is not history; it is not legend, but the theocratic ideal of a scribe who had never handled a more dangerous weapon than an imaginative pen" (431).²¹

4. Micah's Levite Priest. We read in the seventeenth chapter of Judges that there was a man in the hill country of Ephraim whose name was Micah. Micah was a thief. He stole eleven hundred pieces of silver from his mother. If they were shekels, the whole amount was about \$600. The old woman, no better than she ought to be, pronounced a curse on the thief; and after this Micah acknowledged that he had the money. He seems to have been so scared by the curse that he made confession and restored the stolen property. Then the old woman dedicated two hundred of the pieces to be made into two silver images to be worshiped as gods. The thief, with

²¹ For the purpose of discrediting the account of this war, Driver asserts: "The figures are incredibly large: Deborah (v. 8) places the number of warriors in entire Israel at not more than 40,000" (*Int.*, 168). He is aiming to follow Wellhausen, but he runs ahead of him; for Wellhausen puts it this way: "The Israelites were strangely helpless; it was as if neither shield nor spear could be found among their 40,000 fighting men." But both of these scholars inexcusably pervert the meaning of Deborah's remark. She does not say or intimate that Israel had only 40,000 fighting men; but she simply raises the question whether there was a shield or spear among 40,000 in Israel. Her words are:

"They chose new gods:
Then was war in the gates:
Was there a shield or a spear seen
Among forty thousand in Israel?"

One shield or spear to every 40,000 is her obvious meaning, and she has no thought of giving the whole number of warriors.

an inconsistency that is not without its parallel even in some so-called Christian lands, built a house for his gods, added some teraphim, or wooden images, consecrated one of his sons as a priest, and made him an ephod after the style of a high priest. The author of Judges apologizes for the toleration of such thievery and idolatry, by adding the remark that "there was no king in Israel in those days: every man did that which was right in his own eyes." Perhaps, if there had been a king, Micah would not have been punished for stealing from his own mother, and if the king had been such as Jeroboam, who set up the golden calf at Bethel, the sin of idolatry would have been overlooked. The greatest folly in the whole affair is that it was Jehovah, who had forbidden the use of images, whom the thief was proposing to worship. But in this he was no greater fool than Jeroboam and all of his successors on the throne.

In the course of time a young Levite visited Micah's house. He was a descendant of Moses (xviii. 30); but he was a *tramp*; for when Micah asked him whence he came, he answered, "I am a Levite of Bethlehem-judah, and I go to sojourn where I may find a place." Micah offers him the very place he was hunting for, by saying, "Dwell with me, and be unto me a father and a priest, and I will give thee ten pieces of silver, by the year, and a suit of apparel, and thy victuals." Like a fool and the lazy vagrant that he was, the Levite accepted the offer; and then Micah, like another fool, said, "Now I know that Jehovah will do me good, seeing I have a Levite for my priest." The Levite afterward turned out to be a greater rascal than Micah; for at the request of six hundred unscrupulous Danites who passed that way, he pretended to give an answer from Jehovah as to the success of the marauding expedition on which they had embarked, and then, at their suggestion, he stole his master's gods and went away to be a priest for this new set of outlaws.

This story is told by the author of Judges for the evident purpose of showing the recklessness and daring of some hypocrites in those lawless days; but it is valuable in showing the pre-existence of the very law which Micah, the Levite and the

Danites were all trampling under their feet. How could Micah have known anything about the ephod, except from the Levitical law in which this robe of the priest is described? And how could he have thought that a Levite, renegade as he was, could be more acceptable to Jehovah as a priest than his own son, except by having learned from the same law that the Levites were next in official rank to the real priests, the sons of Aaron? These questions can not be answered by our modern scientific critics without again denying the facts of history. Driver, it is true, does not go this far; he says that "chapters xvii. and xviii. introduce to us an archaic state of Israelitish life;" but whether the account is true or not, he does not affirm. He also most strangely says that no "disapproval of what Micah had instituted appears to be entertained" (*Int.*, 168)—as if an author, in giving an account of a transaction involving theft, idolatry and treachery, must be careful to express his disapproval of such rascality to free himself from the suspicion of approving it. Professor Moore (*Com. on Judges, in loco*) cites the name of a long list of rationalistic critics who hold that the ephod made of gold by Gideon (Judg. viii. 27) was an image, with the apparent purpose of intimating, though he does not affirm it, that Micah's was also an image; but the absurdity of this is sufficiently apparent from the fact that both Samuel in his childhood, and David, when dancing before the ark, *wore* ephods (I. Sam. ii. 18; II. Sam. vi. 14) and from the fact that throughout the whole of the Old Testament the word elsewhere means a priestly garment. True, Gideon's was made of the gold presented to him out of the spoil of the Midianites; but it was just as easy to make a garment by weaving threads of gold, as to make an image of gold by melting and molding it; and the former would require less of the precious metal in proportion to the size of the article made. It was as easy, too, to worship the garment as the image. This is but a blind and staggering effort to get rid of the fact that the Levitical law, which prescribed the ephod as the distinguishing garment of

the high priest was already in existence and well known in the days of Micah.

As to the Levite, Professor Bennett, in *Polychrome Judges* (*in loco*), echoes the voice of many critics when he says:

Levite must here denote his calling, not his extraction; he was a professional priest, though of the clan of Judah, just as the Ephraimite Samuel was brought up as a priest at Shiloh. The relation of the Levite priests to the old tribe of Levi is obscure.

It *must* be; and why? No reason is given, but the real one is on the surface. The word "Levite" must mean the man's profession; for if it means that he belonged to the tribe of Levi, then the critical theory about the Levites and their appointed service breaks down. And how profound the remark that "the relation of the Levite priests to the old tribe of Levi is obscure"! Why not say the same about the relation of the Benjamites to the old tribe of Benjamin, of the Ephraimites to the old tribe of Ephraim? Does it not appear as if these scholars bade farewell to candor when they embarked upon the sea of critical conjecture and discovery?

§7. IN THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL.

In answering the charge of Robertson Smith that the ritual observed at Shiloh proves the non-existence at the time of the Levitical ritual, we have already exhibited much of its bearing in the opposite direction; we now consider its bearing in this direction more fully. While it is unquestionable, as we have seen before, that under the management of Hophni and Phinehas both the moral law and the ritual law were very grossly violated, we find, upon careful examination of the facts, indubitable evidences that the latter was the law under which they lived. We specify:

1. The Structure in and before Which this Service was Conducted. It is styled "the house of Jehovah" (i. 7; ii. 15, 24); the "temple of Jehovah" (i. 9; iii. 3); and "the tent of meeting" (ii. 22). The last is the current title of the structure otherwise called the tabernacle, in the book of Moses. The first, "house of Jehovah," is first used in Ex. xxiii. 19,

before the structure was erected according to Exodus. It is found in the command, "The first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring into the house of Jehovah thy God." As no fruits of the ground were gathered during the wilderness wanderings, this precept, of course, had reference to the future, and to whatever structure might be known as the house of God when fruits of the ground should be produced. Until four hundred and eighty years after the Exodus, that is, until Solomon's temple was built, the house of Jehovah to which these firstfruits were brought was none other than the tent of meeting. The same precept is repeated verbatim in Ex. xxxiv. 26, after Moses had received directions about the construction of the tent of meeting. Then Moses knew what the "house of Jehovah" was to be, and necessarily understood it to be the house to which the firstfruits must be brought. Later still, and after the tent of meeting had been in existence and use for nearly forty years, Moses said: "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore, or the wages of a dog, into the house of Jehovah thy God for any vow." From these three passages, if they speak the truth, it is placed beyond doubt that the tent of meeting built by Moses was known to him by the title, "house of Jehovah." This title it bears in I. Samuel. The title, "temple of God," is therefore the only new one here found, and the nature of the term is such that it may be applied properly to any structure in which God is habitually worshiped. The structure, then, in which Hophni and Phinehas served is identified by its names with the one which Moses built, and which Joshua first set up at Shiloh, where our text finds it. It had remained here for more than three hundred years, with the probable exception of a temporary removal to Bethel in the days of Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron (Judg. xx. 26-28).

2. The Contents of the Structure. There is no formal description of the tent of meeting, or its contents, in our text, and consequently all that we learn about it is from allusions of the most incidental character. This prevents fullness of information, and at the same time it is a guarantee against

the suspicion of any false or misleading representation by the writer. In mentioning the time and the place of God's call to the child Samuel, it is said that "the lamp of God was not yet gone out," and that Samuel slept "in the temple of Jehovah where the ark of God was." We thus learn that a lamp, which is called "the lamp of God," was kept there burning at least a part of the night; and this can be no other than the golden lamp incorrectly styled a candlestick in the Book of Exodus. The law required that it be kept burning all the night; but it is not surprising that under the lawless administration of Hophni and Phinehas, this requirement was neglected. The ark of God is identified with the one made by Moses, not only by its name, but by the circumstance that in describing its removal to the field of battle by these two wicked priests, the author says, "The people sent to Shiloh, and brought from thence the ark of the covenant of Jehovah of hosts, who sitteth between the cherubim"—the last clause having reference to the two golden cherubim that stood, one on each end of the mercy-seat, and overshadowed it with their wings. God had promised, "I will meet with thee, and commune with thee from above the mercy-seat, from between the two cherubim which are upon the ark of the testimony" (Ex. xxv. 22).

The table of shewbread was also in this temple; for after its removal from Shiloh to Nob in the reign of Saul, David, in his flight from Saul, called on the priest Ahimelech for bread, and the latter gave him "holy bread; for there was no bread there but the shewbread, that was taken from before Jehovah, to put hot bread in the day when it was taken away" (xxi. 3-6). Jesus afterward noted the fact that this act was unlawful, the law providing that this bread should be eaten by the priests alone; but still it shows that the bread was kept there as the law required, and was renewed by hot bread at proper intervals.

We now see that three out of the four sacred vessels which, according to the Levitical law, were to be kept in the tabernacle, were kept in the house at Shiloh, and it is fair to pre-

sume that the only reason why the fourth, the altar of incense, is not mentioned, is, that in the accounts of the priests and visitors to the structure at this period, there was no occasion for alluding to it. We may assert, then, with confidence, that while in some respects the law of Moses, if in existence, was seriously violated by the priests then in charge, the tent of meeting erected by Moses for the purpose of putting the Levitical ritual into effect, together with all of the sacred furniture provided for various acts of that ritual, was standing at Shiloh in the days of Samuel. But how could this have been if the law which originated this service had not been enacted before this time? Let us see what answer the critics give to this question. We have seen a part of their answer in a preceding section (p. 144), and have found that it consists in irrelevant assertions and unfounded assumptions. We now seek their final and decisive answer.

3. The Existence of the Tabernacle Denied. In the first place, they deny that the tabernacle so elaborately described in the Book of Exodus, and so often mentioned in later history, ever had a real existence. Wellhausen says:

The tabernacle rests on a historical fiction. . . . Hebrew tradition, even from the time of the judges and the first kings, for which the Mosaic tabernacle was, strictly speaking, intended, knows nothing at all about it (*Prol.*, 39).

Robertson Smith says of it:

It is, in short, not a fact, but an idea, an imaginary picture of such a tabernacle as might serve as a pattern for the service of the second temple (*O. T.*, 410).

Andrew Harper, more modest, takes the same ground when he says:

There is not a hint in the legislation of Deuteronomy that its author knew of the tabernacle and its sole right as a place of sacrifice. From the beginning to the end of the code he never mentions the tabernacle or the sacrifices there (258).

Such is the dictum of the critics, from the most radical to the most conservative. After this sweeping denial, it is an easy step to declare, as they do, that I. Sam. ii. 22, in which the structure at Shiloh is called "the tent of meeting," is an

interpolation (*Prol.*, 41, 43; *Encyc. Brit.*, article, "Tabernacle"). There is not the slightest suspicion of this verse on grounds of textual criticism, but it stands as an insuperable barrier against the dictum that there never was a tabernacle, and, therefore, it must be erased from the text.

I can not do better with reference to this wholesale slashing of the Scripture records, than to quote what Mr. W. L. Baxter says of it in his "Reply to Wellhausen":

Wellhausen's treatment of this branch of the subject is so astounding, in its utterly unsupported assumptions, and in its wholesale imputations of falsehood to the writers of Scripture, that we always feel a difficulty in realizing that he can expect his views to be soberly accepted by any Bible student. Nothing in the whole of the Old Testament is more indubitably, more minutely and more solemnly asserted and described than the erection of the Mosaic tabernacle. Next to the delivery of the Decalogue, it is the main outstanding event in Israel's first year of a national emancipation. No less than thirteen entire chapters (Ex. xxv.-xxxi. and xxxv.-xl.) are devoted to a most circumstantial account of its contrivance and execution. Its precious metals, its cunning workers, its hearty contributors, its every division and curtain and vessel, its time in making, and its splendid inauguration, are all there most explicitly detailed. . . . If anything seems imbedded immovably in the history of Jewish worship, it is the giving of the divine pattern for the sanctuary, and the elaborate execution thereof in the wilderness "as the Lord commanded Moses" (22).

The enormity of such dealings with sacred records is not at all alleviated when we come to consider the excuses which some who feel the need of an excuse, have given for it. Robertson Smith, for example, mentions the "gold and silver, the rich hangings of rare purple, the incense and unguents of costly spices," and demands:

How came these things to be found in the wilderness? It is absurd to say, as is commonly said, that the tabernacle was furnished from the spoil of the Egyptians (Ex. xi. 2; xii. 35), and that the serfs who left Egypt carrying on their shoulders a wretched provision of dough tied up in their cloaks (Ex. xii. 34), were at the same time laden with all the wealth of Asia and Africa, including such strange furniture for a long journey on foot as store of purple yarn and the like (*O. T.*, 410).

Here he accepts a part of the text of Exodus only to misrepresent it, and utterly ignores another part of which he could not have been ignorant. The text does not say that they left Egypt "carrying on their shoulders a wretched provision of

dough." They would have been fools indeed to start on a desert journey of two hundred miles, by the most direct course, with no better supply of food. They actually supplied themselves, before getting entirely out of Egypt, with food sufficient to last them a whole month; for they started on the fifteenth of the first month (xii. 3, 18) and it was on the fifteenth day of the second month that they ran out of bread (xvi. 1-3). The dough with which they started was intended only for the start, and the statement of xii. 39, that "they could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victuals," has reference only to the departure from their homes for the rendezvous at Rameses. On the other hand, the positive statements that "according to the word of Moses" they "asked of the Egyptians jewels of gold and raiment," that "the Egyptians let them have what they asked," and that "they spoiled the Egyptians," are just as credible as the statement that they took unleavened dough on their shoulders bound up with their clothing. And while they were asking what they would of the Egyptians, they unquestionably gathered up a month's supply of provisions, thinking that they would make their journey to Canaan before it would be exhausted. It was because they were led by an unexpected route that their supply was exhausted in the wilderness. As to the quantity of gold and jewels with which they supplied themselves, if every man and woman secured a single dollar's worth, the amount would have been about \$1,200,000. As to purple yarns, and costly goods for wearing apparel, the women of Israel, unless they differed very much from modern women, were more eager for these than for gold and silver; and especially so from the fact that Egypt was richly supplied with articles of this kind which money could not buy in any other land. To give Smith's reason, then, for denying that the tabernacle was built in the wilderness, is worse than to deny that it was, and give no reason.

For the assertion quoted above, that the passage (I. Sam. ii. 22) in which the "tent of meeting" is named, is an interpolation, there is no evidence whatever, and it is clear that

the assertion is made to get rid of evidence against the theory. But even if this assertion could be maintained, there would still remain unchallenged the passages in which it is perfectly manifest, as we have said above, that the structure before which Hophni and Phinehas officiated, and which is called elsewhere the temple of Jehovah, and the house of Jehovah, stood at Shiloh, and that it is identified with the structure that Moses is said to have built in the wilderness, by the fact that it contained the same sacred vessels, the ark, the golden lamp, and the table of shewbread. All the evasions and bold denials of the critics on this subject fail as completely to rid them of the binding force of evidence against their theory as did the writings of the fabled Laocoon to rid him and his sons of the entwining serpents.

4. The Ritual at the House in Shiloh. In a former section (p. 7) we have already discussed this topic in answer to the objections of the adverse critics; we now consider the positive evidence which it furnishes for the pre-existence of the law. We find here, as respects the interior of the house, that according to the law there was a regular trimming and lighting of the lamp, and the renewing of the shewbread, as seen in the preceding section. We find also an altar for sacrifices, and at least three priests—a high priest and two common priests—who officiate at this altar. While the latter have been so corrupt in their practices as to disgust the mass of the people, and cause them to “abhor the offering of Jehovah,” we find one faithful Israelite still coming annually with his family to offer, and his sacrifice is the peace-offering which in its peculiar features is a creation of the Levitical law. We find the extortionate priests demanding of the offerers a larger share of the victims than they are entitled to, thus implying that there was a prescribed portion allotted to them, yet they still burn on the altar the fat, which is the only part of the peace-offering that according to the Levitical law was to be burned. We find also that Hannah was acquainted with the Nairite vow, to the restrictions of which she binds her unborn

son, and with the priestly ephod, in imitation of which she dresses her boy when she leaves him with the priest; and both of these are creations of the Levitical law.

Besides the argument of Robertson Smith which we have quoted and discussed in a former section (p. 144), one more is advanced for the purpose of setting this evidence aside:

The arrangements agree with those of the second temple in various particulars in which Solomon's temple was different; *e. g.*, there is one golden candlestick, and not ten (*O. T.*, 410; note 1).

But all the descriptions of the tabernacle which we have in the Scriptures, represent it as having but one; so if this is the tabernacle built by Moses, it must have but one; and if the account of it is imaginary, it should still have but one. Only in case the account was imaginary, and was taken from the pattern of Solomon's temple, could there have been ten. The second temple copied in this respect the original tabernacle, and not the temple of Solomon. This, perhaps, was not because Zerubbabel and his collaborators had any objection to the ten lamps used by Solomon, but because they brought with them from Babylon only the one which had been made in the wilderness and kept in both the tabernacle and the temple. The other nine may have been left in the heathen temple at Babylon because the Jews were content with the one which Moses made and would not ask Cyrus for the others. Some new critic much arise, and make an advance on his predecessors, before the efforts of the latter shall be able to shake the evidence for the Mosaic law and the Mosaic tabernacle, which is furnished by the tent of meeting at Shiloh, and the service which was so imperfectly rendered there by the sons of Eli.

There are some other evidences for the Mosaic origin of the law to be found in the Books of Samuel, less conclusive than those which we have presented. The reader who desires to exhaust the subject will do well to study the essay in *Lex Mosarica* by J. J. Lias, under the heading, "The Times of Samuel and Saul." All of the essays in that work are worthy of most careful study.

§8. IN I. AND II. KINGS.

1. Solomon's Temple. The temple erected by Solomon was expressly intended to take the place of the movable tent of meeting, or tabernacle, which had previously been the center of Israel's worship. This is made clear by considering in connection what was said on the subject to David, and what was said by Solomon when he was about to build. When David was dwelling in his own house, and God had given him rest from all his enemies round about, he conceived the thought of building a temple, and said to the prophet Nathan, "See now, I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains." Nathan, understanding his meaning, answered, "Go, do all that is in thy heart; for Jehovah is with thee." Nathan went his way, but returned the same night with a message from God, in which, among other things, he said: "I have not dwelt in a house since I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day, but have walked in a tent and in a tabernacle. . . . When thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish thy kingdom. He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever" (II. Sam. vii. 1-13). When Solomon was preparing to commence the building, he said in a message to Hiram of Tyre: "Thou knowest how that David my father could not build a house for the name of Jehovah his God for the wars which were about him on every side, until Jehovah put them under the soles of his feet. But now Jehovah my God hath given me rest on every side; there is neither adversary, nor evil occurrent. And, behold, I purpose to build a house for the name of Jehovah my God, as Jehovah spake unto David my father, saying, Thy son, whom I will set upon thy throne in thy room, he shall build the house for my name" (I. Kings v. 3-5). This shows that there was a perfect understanding on the part of David, the prophet Nathan, and Solomon, that this house was to supersede the movable tabernacle as the house for Jehovah's name. This understand-

ing is further emphasized by the fact that as soon as the temple was completed, and in the process of dedication, "the ark of Jehovah, and the tent of meeting, and all the holy vessels that were in the tent," were brought up into the temple, and the brazen altar was placed in front of the temple, as it had stood in front of the tabernacle (I. Kings viii. 1-4, 64). This was the end of a service which had continued for 480 years (vi. 1).

That which thus appears from formal statements, is made equally clear from a consideration of the dimensions, the form and the contents of the temple, all of which were modeled after those of the tabernacle. Its length and width were just double those of the tabernacle, and its height, thirty cubits, was just double that of the tabernacle if the latter is measured, not to the top of its walls, but to its extreme height, the top of its ridge pole. (See Mr. Ferguson's draught of the tabernacle in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*.) The interior was divided into two apartments, as was the tabernacle, the holy and the most holy—the latter accessible only through the former. The inner face of the walls of both was covered with gold. The oracle in each was occupied by the ark of the covenant, and the holy place by an altar of incense, a golden lamp, and a golden table for the shewbread.

In front stood the altar of burnt offerings, and the great brazen vessel called the sea occupied the place of the laver between the altar and the door of the temple. The only material differences in all these particulars were such as grew out of the greater magnificence of the temple and its intended greater durability. For the latter purpose its walls were of stone instead of wood, and both of its apartments were closed with wooden doors covered with gold, in place of embroidered curtains. For greater magnificence, it was supplied with ten golden lamps instead of one, a table and an incense altar of solid gold, and, in the oracle, gilded cherubim of gigantic proportions overshadowing the two much smaller which overshadowed the mercy-seat. No man can fail to see the intended modeling of the one structure after the other. The destructive critics see it as plainly as others do; but in order to save their

theory, they have fallen into the absurd assumption, as we have stated before, that the tabernacle never had an existence, but that the many chapters in Exodus describing it were spun out of the imagination of some priests living in the days of Ezra, making of it a work of the imagination as idle and useless as the tales of the *Arabian Nights*, and as dry reading as any book on skulls and bones.

2. The Service at the Temple. As the temple and its contents presuppose the tabernacle after which it was modeled, so the service rendered to God in and before the temple presupposes the existence of the Levitical law for the execution of which it was evidently intended. Why was the ark, with its mercy-seat and the overshadowing cherubim, placed in the oracle but for the very purpose declared in the Levitical law, that it might symbolize the presence of God among his people? (Ex. xxv. 22). Why the table in the holy place, except to keep thereon the twelve loaves of bread, to be changed on every sabbath as required by the same law? (xxv. 30). Why the lampstands, except to keep a symbolic light shining in the temple as the Levitical law required? (xxv. 37; xxvii. 20; xxx. 7, 8). And why the altar of incense, except that the burning of incense morning and evening, which is prescribed as a part of the duty of the priests, may be done becomingly? (xxx. 7-9). Why the vessel of water called the sea immediately in front of the temple, but for the washing of the hands and feet of the priests, ere they approach the altar or enter the holy place, as commanded in the law? (Ex. xxx. 17-21). A post-office building of the present day, with its money-order department, its registered-letter department, its boxes for receiving and delivering mail, its distributing clerks, its mail-pouches, its stamps and its envelopes, no more presupposes the postal laws of the American Government, than Solomon's temple presupposes the old tabernacle and the Levitical legislation. Without these it would be as complete an enigma as the great Sphinx, or the Labyrinth of ancient Egypt. It would be a monument to Solomon's folly and extravagance, instead of a token of divine love and favor to God's chosen people.

3. The Exclusiveness of the Temple Service. We have said in a former section that during the reign of Solomon, after the erection of the temple, there is no trace of Jehovah worship at any other place. The "high places" are not once mentioned except in connection with the heathen altars erected by Solomon in his old age for his heathen wives (xi. 7). It can not, then, be denied that during this period the restriction of worship to one sanctuary, which is emphasized in the Book of Deuteronomy, was practically in force, and that it met with undisputed acceptance by the people. This proves what all of our critics deny, that the Deuteronomic law was already known, and that its observance was practically universal. Proof of the same is found in the fact that as soon as Jeroboam was settled on the throne of the ten seceding tribes, he issued a decree forbidding his subjects to go to Jerusalem to worship. He recognized the unitizing effect of worshipping at a single sanctuary, and feared that a continuance of that powerful influence would lead to a reunion of Israel and his own dethronement and death. For this reason he established two sanctuaries in his own dominion, and made this worship distinct by the use of a golden calf as a symbol of Jehovah. He also, at the same time, and for the same purpose, appointed an annual festival in imitation of the feast of tabernacles, but to be celebrated one month later (xii. 26-29). If it had been thought at this time that worship at any high place which any man might select would be acceptable to Jehovah, the king could have had no reason for restricting the worship to these two sanctuaries. It was not until the minds of the people were further corrupted that they began to set up altars "on every high hill and under every green tree."

Having established these two places for sacrifice, Jeroboam must needs have a priesthood to conduct the service at them, and it is said, to his further reproach, that "he made priests from among the people who were not of the sons of Levi" (xii. 51). This points out a second departure from the Levitical law, and shows that the priesthood hitherto recognized was the one authorized by that law. For the accommodation of these

illegitimate priests he built houses at the two sanctuaries which are called "houses of the high places" (*ib.*).

When Jeroboam was about to burn incense on his altar at Bethel, for the first time apparently, a man of God from Judah drew near and denounced the altar in words which still further demonstrate the previous existence of the Levitical law. He said: "A child shall be born in the house of David, Josiah by name; and upon thee shall he sacrifice the priests of the high places that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall they burn upon thee" (xii. 33; xiii. 2). How could it have been known at this time that burning men's bones on an altar would defile it, except by the provision of the Levitical law that touching a bone of a dead man was defiling? (Num. xix. 16).

4. The Toleration of the High Places. The kings of Judah, from Jeroboam to Hezekiah, are censured by the author of the Book of Kings for not taking away the high places. How could this censure be justly administered if no law had yet been given restricting the sacrifice to a single altar, and that altar the one in Jerusalem? The answer of our critics is, that the author of Kings lived after the discovery of Deuteronomy, and that in his zeal for the enforcement of the Deuteronomic law he threw back his own sentiments into the preceding history. But if he did this, his censure was manifestly unjust, seeing that no man can be rightly censured for not obeying a law not yet in existence. It was not only unjust, but it was mendacious; for if the Book of Deuteronomy had the origin which critics ascribe to it, this author knew the fact, and he was making false pretenses when he assumed by these censures that it had existed earlier. Thus again and again the positions and arguments of these critics bring the authors of the Biblical books into the reproach of being guilty of fraud upon fraud. Not many men will or can believe this; and to avoid believing it they must cast aside the critical theories as both false and libelous.

It should be observed here, as Stanley Leathes argues in *Lex Mosaica* (437), that the condemnation of high places in Kings was derived from their condemnation by name in Lev.

xxvi. 30, and not from what is said in Deuteronomy, seeing that in the latter book they are not mentioned. But if the author had both of these books, he had two reasons for censuring the kings who tolerated them: first, that they were condemned by name in the former book, and condemned in the latter because they were places of worship apart from the central sanctuary. But if, as the critics affirm, the Book of Leviticus had not been written when the Book of Kings was, he could not have been influenced at all by the latter, and, as we have seen above, he could not, on the critical hypothesis, have been honestly influenced by Deuteronomy. But he must have been influenced by one or both of these books; and if either was of earlier date than the reigns of Judah's kings, both were, and both must have come, as they claim to have come, from Moses.

5. Hezekiah's Attack on the High Places. Hezekiah was the first king of Judah, according to the Book of Kings, to make an earnest effort to break up the worship on high places. It is said of him: "He did that which was right in the eyes of Jehovah, according to all that David his father had done. He removed the high places, and brake the pillars, and cut down the Asherah: and he brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made; for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it; and he called it Nehushtan. He trusted in Jehovah, the God of Israel; so that after him there was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor among them that were before him. For he clave to Jehovah, he departed not from following him, but kept his commandments, which Jehovah commanded Moses" (xviii. 3-6). Here, among the things which made Hezekiah the best of kings, it is said that he removed the high places. He did this, and all the other good acts of his reign, because he "trusted in Jehovah," and "kept his commandments which he commanded Moses." If this is true, there was some command of God by Moses which condemned the high places as well as the "pillars," the Asherah, and the burning of incense to the brazen serpent. But what commandment condemned the high places? As we have said above, there are only two: the one in Deuteronomy which

restricted all sacrifice to the central sanctuary, and the one, a threat, rather than a commandment, in Leviticus, in which God, speaking of the punishment which he will bring upon Israel in case of apostasy, says: "I will destroy your high places, and cut down your sun-images" (xxvi. 30). As sure, then, as this statement of the author of Kings is true, one or both of these commands were already known to Israel and the critical theory of their late origin is falsified.

There is further evidence that Hezekiah was moved by the law of Deuteronomy in suppressing the high places, found in the argument of Rabshakeh when urging the surrender of Jerusalem to Sennacherib: "If ye say to me, We trust in Jehovah our God: is not that he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem?" (xviii. 22). He knew that Hezekiah had taken away the high places and altars, for the purpose of limiting the worship to Jerusalem, and, supposing from his heathen education that this would displease Jehovah, he argued the folly of trusting to him for deliverance. That Rabshakeh was well informed as to the facts in the case there can be no doubt; for the invading army had then been in the land long enough to have taken all the cities of Judah except Jerusalem, and he had conversed with Jewish captives in abundance concerning the affairs of Judah. His only mistake was in supposing that the altars destroyed were legitimate places of worship, and that Jehovah must therefore be displeased with their destruction.

The effort made by the destructive critics to evade the force of this evidence is vigorously set forth by Mr. Baxter in the following lines:

In this case, Wellhausen invents a forger in the time of the exile, and then lays on his innocent shoulders all the statements in the Books of Kings that threaten his discovery with death. He calmly assures us that it is only "the Exilian redaction of the Books of Kings, which reckons the cultus outside Jerusalem as heretical" (p. 15). Who this infamous redactor was, what may have been his name or his residence or his surroundings or his experiences, must remain utterly unknown: Wellhausen simply and absolutely summons that unblushing man up from the vasty deep of his own imagination, and then makes him the

instrument of foisting a twenty-fold lie into the records of Scripture. . . . Has he a copy in Germany of the Books of Kings as they existed before the "Exilian redactor" operated on them? If so, he should publish it (*Sanc. and Sac.*, 153 f.).

Driver ignores Wellhausen's redactor, and ascribes to the compiler of the Books of Kings that which Wellhausen ascribes to the redactor. He says:

Deuteronomy is the standard by which the compiler judges both men and actions; and the history, from the beginning of Solomon's reign, is presented not in purely objective form (as, *e. g.*, in II. Sam. ix. 20), but from the point of view of the Deuteronomic code. . . . Obedience to the Deuteronomic law is the qualification for an approving verdict; deviation from it is the source of ill success and the sure prelude to condemnation (*Int.*, 199).

Doubtless this last sentence is true; and it is true that Deuteronomy is the standard by which men and actions are judged; and why should it not be if it was written by Moses? But if it was not written by Moses, why should the compiler of Kings have made it his standard? He could have done so only in the way which Driver describes, by presenting the history "not in a purely objective form;" that is, not as actually history, but as history distorted to suit "the point of view of the Deuteronomic code." In this lies the fraudulent purpose with which this historian, in common with the others, is directly or indirectly charged. Once more historical criticism denies history in order to make room for a theory.

6. The Testimony Given to Joash. When Jehoiada the priest, who had saved the life of the infant Joash from Athaliah, brought him forth in the temple to make him king, we are told that "he put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony" (II. Kings xi. 12). The article here called "the testimony" can be no other than "the law of the kingdom," of which it is said in Deuteronomy: "It shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book, out of that which is before the priests the Levites: and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear Jehovah his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them" (xvii. 18, 19). As this law was to be copied "out of

that which was before the priests," it did not, of course, contain all that was in that book; and as it was to govern the king rather than the priests or the people, it included only such portions as related to the king's personal and official duties. It was not, therefore, a very long document. As Joash was too young, as yet, to order the making of this copy, or even to know that it had to be made, Jehoiada had prepared it in advance, and gave it to him when the crown was placed on his head. In the margin of R. V. the clause is rendered, "put upon him the crown and the testimony;" and some critic has argued that as Joash was a child only six years old, a manuscript of the whole Pentateuch was too heavy a load for him to carry. No serious man, of course, could present this as a serious argument, seeing that the law to be given to the king was one copied out from the whole law, and it may have been a small manuscript roll. It was certainly not too large for a seven-year-old boy to hold in his hand or on his arm. It was doubtless the same in content with the book written by Samuel when he anointed Saul: "Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before Jehovah" (I. Sam. x. 25). Here is proof, in the two instances combined, that this law of the kingdom, as it is now styled, which the critics say was composed in the reign of Manasseh and was suggested by the reign of Solomon, was actually complied with at the coronation of Joash more than two hundred years earlier, and that it was observed in the case of King Saul eighty years before the reign of Solomon.

7. *Sparing the Children of Murderers.* The reign of Joash was ended by his assassination at the hands of two of his officers (II. Kings xii. 20, 21). As soon as his son Amaziah was established on the throne, we are told that "he slew his servants who had slain the king his father: but the children of the murderers he put not to death: according to that which is written in the book of the law of Moses, as Jehovah commanded, saying, The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers, but every man

shall die for his own sins" (xiv. 5, 6). Now, this law is found only in Deuteronomy (Deut. iv. 16); but this compliance with it occurred two centuries before the hypothetical date of this book. Moreover, the author of Kings, and, if he tells the truth, King Amaziah himself, recognized Deuteronomy as "the book of the law of Moses."

Here we close our presentation of the evidence found in the Book of Kings for the early, and consequently the Mosaic, authorship of Deuteronomy; for we have reached the period in which it is affirmed by the most radical critics that the book was in the hands of King Josiah. We have not aimed to exhaust the evidence; for much of the same character can be produced, and has been, from other passages; but we have presented that on which the controversy depends, and it seems abundantly sufficient to show that the principal actors in the historical scenes which are portrayed in these books were distinctly cognizant of the existence of the law of Moses, both the Levitical and Deuteronomic law, and that it was without question ascribed by them to Moses.

§10. THE BOOKS OF THE EARLY PROPHETS.

1. Amos. The message with which the prophet Amos was charged, was a terrific denunciation of the immoralities then prevalent in Israel, Judah and the surrounding peoples. As we have seen in reviewing the arguments of the adverse critics, he also very severely denounced the sacrifices and offerings which Israel presented at the altars of Bethel, Gilgal, Dan and Beer-sheba, under the hypocritical pretense that these covered the multitude of the people's sins. But further than this it could hardly be expected that such a message would deal with questions of ritual. Yet the book is not without positive evidence that both the prophet, and the people of the ten tribes whom he addressed, were acquainted with the law of Moses which the latter were so grossly violating.

(1) In the opening cry of the prophet, he exclaims: "Jehovah shall roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem" (i. 2). This shows that Jerusalem was the recognized center of

Jehovah's presence and his worship. It was so in opposition to the centers for calf-worship which had been established in Israel; for, with direct reference to this cry, the prophet says in v. 4-6: "For thus saith Jehovah to the house of Israel, Seek ye me, and ye shall live: but seek not Beth-el, nor enter into Gilgal, and pass not to Beer-sheba: for Gilgal shall surely go into captivity, and Beth-el shall come to nought. Seek ye Jehovah, and ye shall live; lest he break out like fire in the house of Joseph, and it devour and there be none to quench it in Beth-el." Here it is made unmistakable that those who would seek Jehovah were to turn away from Beth-el, Gilgal and Beer-sheba, and find Jehovah in Jerusalem, whence his voice was roaring through the mouth of Amos. What plainer evidence could one wish that the Deuteronomic law was, contrary to the voice of all destructive critics, already known, and that Jerusalem was the only appointed place where Jehovah could be found to accept the sacrifices of his people? This was a century and a half before the date assigned by these critics to Deuteronomy.

(2) With one voice these critics insist that "the law" in the lips of the early prophets never means the law of Moses, but the teaching (Hebrew, *torah*) of the prophets. Wellhausen says:

By the law of Jehovah which the people of Judah have despised, it is impossible that Amos could have understood anything in the remotest degree resembling a ritual legislation (*ProL.*, 56).

The passage to which he here has allusion furnishes a complete test of the truth of this reckless assertion. It is this: "For three transgressions of Judah, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have rejected the law of Jehovah, and have not kept his statutes, and their lies have caused them to err, after the which their fathers did walk" (ii. 4). Now, Amos was himself the first of the writing prophets, and he was preceded only by Elijah and Elisha, who wrote no law, gave no statutes, and who spoke to Israel and not to Judah. Where, then, is the law of Jehovah which Judah had rejected, the statutes of Jehovah which they had not kept, and

which their fathers had dealt with in the same way? They vanish into thin air with the theory which would thus falsify the meaning of words. The words of Amos imply of necessity that there was a law of Jehovah, statutes of Jehovah, which had preceded the prophets, and which had been disregarded by the people of Judah for generations past. How completely blinded by a preconception must Wellhausen have been not to have seen that he was using this passage to teach the opposite of what it implies! And how completely he has pulled the wool over the eyes of such men as Robertson Smith, Driver, Cheyne, and others, that they should not have seen the trap into which he has led them. But "critical views" have become traditional.

(3) There are several allusions in Amos which show that he was acquainted with the strictly ritual or Levitical law as well as with that of Deuteronomy. He shows an acquaintance with the sixth chapter of Numbers by saying: "I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazirites. . . . But ye gave the Nazirites wine to drink" (ii. 11, 12). The word "Nazirite" is not found in any writing which these critics ascribe to a date earlier than Amos, except in the story of Samson (Judg. xiii. 5, 7; xvi. 17); and in this story there is not a hint that it was wrong for a Nazirite to drink wine. Moreover, this story, according to the critics, was first written about the time of Amos by J, and it could not have had the force of a law. But both Amos and the people of Israel knew full well that it was unlawful for a Nazirite to drink wine, or for another to give him wine to drink, and there is no source from which they could have obtained such information except this passage in Numbers.

He shows a knowledge of Lev. vii. 13, by saying of the worshipers of Bethel and Gilgal that they "offer [by burning, margin] a sacrifice of thanksgiving of that which is leavened" (iv. 5). What could Amos or these worshipers have known about any connection of leavened bread with the thank-offering, had not the Levitical law already forbidden the burning of leaven upon the altar (Lev. ii. 11), but permitted the presentation of leavened bread with the thank-offering because it was

given to the priest and none of it was to be burned? (Lev. vii. 9, 10). The passage shows that with all their aberrations from the Levitical law, these worshipers were acquainted with it; for otherwise they could not be rebuked for this violation of it. Wellhausen seeks to evade the force of this evidence by asserting that the law forbidding the burning of leaven on the altar is in conflict with the earlier usage which permitted it. But what he styles the "earlier usage," the one here relied on by Amos, is the very one which condemns the offering of leaven by fire. The effort to evade the evidence confirms it.

Amos and his contemporaries also knew the Levitical law which required every burnt offering to be accompanied with a meal offering (Num. xv. 1-12; also chapters xxviii. and xxix.); for in his rebuke of their unacceptable service, he says to the people: "Yea, though ye offer me your burnt offerings and your meal-offerings, I will not accept them" (v. 22). While the burnt offering, if we may believe the Bible, both Old Testament and New, is as old as the time of Abel, the meal-offering had its origin in the Levitical law, and after the enactment of the law it was an invariable accompaniment of the burnt offering. This enactment preceded the time of Amos, and was well known to the apostate tribes of the northern kingdom.

2. Hosea. All the principal evidences that this prophet knew the law of Moses have been presented in answering the arguments of the destructive critics, leaving nothing to be said in this connection. (See p. 175 ff.)

3. Isaiah. While the critics have argued from certain passages that Isaiah knew nothing of the law of Moses, they have overlooked or ignored certain others which prove the opposite. We now call attention to the more prominent of these:

(1) In ii. 6-8 the prophet says: "Thou hast forsaken thy people the house of Jacob, because they be filled with customs from the east, and are soothsayers like the Philistines, and they strike hands with the children of strangers. Their land also is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures; their land also is full of horses, neither is there any end

of their chariots. Their land also is full of idols; they worship the work of their own hands, that which their own fingers have made." Now here soothsaying, excessive accumulations of silver and gold, and the multiplication of chariots and horses, are classed as unlawful things in company with idols. But how did the people know that these things were at all wrong in the sight of God, and especially that they were of like unlawfulness with idols, unless they had already received some law forbidding them? Could they have learned it from Solomon's example? With that alone before them, they would have argued from the unexampled wisdom of Solomon that all these except soothsaying were praiseworthy. There is not a sentence in all that the critics admit to have been written before Isaiah's time from which they could have learned it. Only on the supposition that they had the Book of Deuteronomy can this knowledge be accounted for. In that book soothsaying, while not named, is prohibited by prohibiting the whole category of occult arts to which it belongs; and it is classified, as here, with idolatry: "There shall not be found with thee any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, one that useth divination, one that practiseth augury, or an enchanter, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or a consulter with a familiar spirit, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For whosoever doeth these things is an abomination to Jehovah" (xviii. 10-12). In the same book and the same chapter, as is well known to the critics, the kings of Israel are forbidden to multiply horses, or to greatly multiply silver and gold (14-17). The people, then, were acquainted with this book, and Isaiah relied upon their knowledge of it in denouncing these practices as well-known sins. Professor Cheyne, whose eyes are sharp to discover in all the Scriptures anything which he can construe in favor of the critical hypothesis, though he comments on this passage, fails to see this bearing of it.

(2) In viii. 19, 20, the prophet says: "When they shall say unto you, Seek unto them that have familiar spirits and unto the wizards. that chirp and that mutter: should not a people seek

unto their God? on behalf of the living should they seek unto the dead? To the law and to the testimony! If they speak not according to this word, surely there is no morning for them." Here, seeking for information from familiar spirits is put in contrast with seeking it from God; and when men are advised to resort to these spirits, the prophet cries, in opposition, "To the law and to the testimony!" and he declares that there is no morning, but perpetual night, to those who do not speak "according to *this word*." By "this word" he clearly means the word of "the law and the testimony." In the word "law" we have again the Hebrew word *torah*, which means, as the critics say, the teaching of the prophets and not the law of Moses. But where was this teaching of the prophets when Isaiah wrote? Amos and Hosea had taught, but not a word had either said about familiar spirits. Only in Deuteronomy (xviii. 11), and in Leviticus (xix. 31; xx. 6, 27) had consulting with them been forbidden, and therefore to these and the other law-books must Isaiah have referred as the "law and the testimony." They would be thus seeking unto their God; they would thus be seeking, "on behalf of the living," to the living and not to the dead.

Professor Cheyne identifies "the law and the testimony" here with Isaiah's own previous teaching of which, at verse 16, he was commanded: "Bind thou up the admonition and seal the testimony upon my disciples" (*Com., in loco*); but in this previous teaching there is not a word about familiar spirits, and consequently this attempt at evasion is a failure.

(3) In chap. xxiv. 5, 6, it is said: "The earth is polluted under the inhabitants thereof; because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinance, broken the everlasting covenant." This shows that laws had been given by God, one or more ordinances had been appointed, and an everlasting covenant had been made. What laws, ordinances and covenant can these be? Professor Cheyne says the reference is to the covenant with Noah. But no covenant was made with Noah which Noah's descendants could break. That covenant was simply a promise on God's part that "the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh" (Gen. ix. 16). There was no condi-

tion attached to it for men to comply with, and men, therefore, could not break it. The reference is to a covenant which men could break, and which men had broken. It was not the covenant of circumcision; for that had not been broken. The only reference which the words and the facts will admit is the covenant made with Israel when they came out of Egypt, by which, on the condition of their keeping his commandments and statutes which he would give them, God promised that they should be a peculiar treasure to him above all nations (Ex. xix. 3-8). This covenant Israel had broken in a most flagrant manner, and Judah was breaking it in the reign of Ahaz, when this passage was probably written. It was a covenant, too, with which laws and ordinances were connected; and this is true only of the covenant made at Sinai. It is true that the chapter of which this passage forms a part, appears to be a woe pronounced on the whole earth; but this does not change the reference; for although this covenant was made formally with Israel alone, the principles involved in it, and the main body of the laws connected with it, are those by which God governs and holds accountable to himself the whole world.

(4) In two passages (xvii. 7, 8; xxvii. 9) Isaiah shows knowledge of the restricted worship enjoined in Deuteronomy, and enforced by Hezekiah. In the former he says: "In that day shall a man look unto his Maker, and his eyes shall have respect to the Holy One of Israel. And he shall not look to the altars, the work of his hands, neither shall he have respect to that which his fingers have made, either the Asherim, or the sun-images." By "the altars, the work of his hands," are meant those which the worshiper had made, in distinction from that which Moses had made, and which stood in the temple. He was to look neither to these altars, nor to the Asherim, nor the sun-images which some had erected; that is, he was to look neither to the worship of idols, nor to the worship of Jehovah on the altars which he had made, and the reference must be to the altars on the high places. In contrast with this he was to look to his Maker, and have respect to the holy One of Israel;

and this could be done by worshiping only at the appointed sanctuary.

In the latter passage the purging of Israel's iniquity, or the taking away her sin, is conditioned on the destruction of these altars, and of all idolatrous images: "Therefore by this shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged, and this is all the fruit of taking away his sin; when he maketh all the stones of the altar as chalk that are beaten in sunder, so that the Asherim and the sun-images shall rise no more."

These passages clearly show that the worship in high places, the places in which the altars referred to were undoubtedly erected, instead of being considered legitimate, as the critics contend, until the reign of Josiah, was already condemned by the prophet while they were being suppressed by the king. Hezekiah was supported in the suppression of them not only by the law of God, as we have seen (p. 249), but by the contemporary teaching of the prophet.

Cheyne evades the force of this evidence by representing xvii. 7, 8 as a gloss by a late editor of Isaiah, and by ascribing xxvii. 9 to his fifth Isaiah, and fixing its date in 332 B. C. (*Polychrome Isaiah, in loco*). But this is falsified by the historical fact that Israel did not resort to unauthorized altars, Asherim and sun-images after the Babylonian exile. Here history corrects the historical critic. In his earlier work (*Commentary on Isaiah*) he shows conscious misgiving on this point, by saying:

The mention of the symbols of Asherah is not what we should expect from a writer living during the Babylonian exile. The phenomenon is, of course, not decisive of the critical question at issue, but ought to have its due weight (*Com.*, xxvii. 9).

But if it is not what we should expect from a writer of the exile, when the evil practice had ceased, much less is it what we should expect from a writer who lived two hundred years *after* the exile. Evidently, then, he should have given the benefit of his doubt in favor of Isaiah himself as the author, instead of ascribing the passage to his imaginary *fifth* Isaiah.

(5) In chap. xxix. 13 Isaiah shows knowledge of a law of God regulating worship, by saying: "And the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near unto me, and with their mouth and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear of me is a commandment of men which hath been taught them: therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder." To the sin of drawing near to God according to a "commandment of men," is traced the further sin of drawing near with the mouth and the lips when the heart is far away. But the former sin could not exist without a law of God for which the commandment of men had been substituted. There was, then, a law of God by which to draw near to him, and this had been set aside by the people that they might follow some commandment of men. The passage is quoted by our Lord in rebuking those in his day who forsook the commandment of God in observing the tradition of the elders (Matt. xv. 1-9). Cheyne feels the force of this evidence, and evades it by appending to the words "a commandment of men," the remark "alluding to *pre-canonical* collections of laws, which, we may infer from Hos. viii. 12; Jer. viii. 8, were current in some circles in the time of the pre-exilic prophets" (*Com., in loco*). But how could pre-canonical commandments be thus condemned before the canonical laws had yet been given? The fact that drawing near to God by the commandment of men is condemned at all, implies of necessity that the commandment of God on the same subject had been already given, and of this no successful evasion is possible. God had then given laws by which the people were to draw near to him, and, like the Pharisees of a later age, the people had accepted in place of these some commandments of men.

(6) In exalting the power of God and his knowledge, the prophet exclaims: "Lebanon is not sufficient to burn, nor the beasts thereof sufficient for a burnt offering" (xl. 16). He means that the magnificent cedar groves of Lebanon would not furnish enough wood to burn an offering worthy of Jehovah, nor would all the beasts to be found on those mountains make

an adequate offering. What words could express a warmer approval of burnt offerings in praise of Jehovah?

(7) In rebuking Israel for the blindness and deafness which caused them to be led captive, he says: "It pleased Jehovah, for his righteousness' sake, to magnify the law, and make it honourable" (xlii. 21). He did this by giving them to their enemies for despising his law. He demands, "Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers?" and he answers, "He against whom they sinned, in whose ways they would not walk, neither were they obedient to his law" (24). The law of God and disobedience to it are here regarded precisely as in the account given by the author of Kings, of the causes which led to Israel's captivity.

(8) Israel is again rebuked for neglect of the law in these terms: "Yet thou hast not called upon me, O Jacob; but thou hast been weary of me, O Israel. Thou hast not brought me the small cattle of thy burnt offerings; neither hast thou honoured me with thy sacrifices. I have not made thee to serve with offerings, nor wearied thee with frankincense. Thou hast bought me no sweet cane with money, neither hast thou filled me with the fat of thy sacrifices: but thou hast made me to serve with thy sins, thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities" (xliii. 22-24). The contrast presented in the latter part of this rebuke adds greatly to the sting of it. While God's requirement of offerings had not made them "to serve," that is, as slaves, and the frankincense which he had required had not "wearied" them by its quantity or its frequency, they have made him to "serve" with their sins, and wearied him with their iniquities. Neglect of offerings of animals and of incense had brought their calamities upon them; but this could not have been, if, as the critics affirm, the Levitical law had not yet been given.

(9) In depicting the blessedness of Israel at some future day, beginning with the exultant strain, "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of Jehovah is risen upon thee," the prophet says: "All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee, the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee:

they shall come with acceptance on mine altar, and I will glorify the house of my glory" (lx. 7). Thus the glorification of God's house was to reach its consummation by the acceptable offering of flocks and rams upon his altar. Notice, that the single altar required by the law of Deuteronomy, and the abundant sacrifices of the Levitical law, are both distinctly recognized, thus proving that both were already known and held in honor by Israel.

(10) Finally, the offering of sacrifices by men who have "chosen their own ways," and whose souls are "delighting in their abominations," is held up for the abhorrence of the people, as in the last chapter of the book. The prophet says: "He that killeth an ox is as he that slayeth a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as he that breaketh a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as he that offereth swine's blood; he that burneth frankincense, as he that blesseth an idol: yea, they have chosen their own ways, and their soul delighteth in their abominations" (lxvi. 3).

It is claimed by our critics, one and all, that the last four of the passages just cited were not written by Isaiah. The more conservative among them hold that the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah were written by an unknown prophet who lived in the last ten years of the Babylonian exile. But even on this hypothesis, though this writer would have known the Book of Deuteronomy, he would not have known, as we see that he certainly did, the Levitical law of sacrifices which was written later. But the more radical, and certainly the shrewder set, deny some of these chapters to even the "second Isaiah," and, to prevent being caught in the trap just pointed out, they claim that portions of these chapters were written at various intervals down to the time of Alexander the Great, A. D. 332. Thus, Cheyne credits only chapters xl.-xlviii. to the "second Isaiah," just one-third of the whole number; and he distributes the others between third, fourth and fifth Isaiahs. He does this in order to prevent the real Isaiah, or even the "second Isaiah," from knowing the Levitical law, a knowledge of which by them would shatter the critical theory. When learned and

critical scholars are thus compelled to run their theories like chased foxes into the ground, a man of common sense wants no better evidence that the theories are indefensible.

4. Jeremiah. As in the case of Hosea, we have presented both sides of the evidence from the Book of Jeremiah while answering the arguments of the critics. (See Part First, §8, 6).

§10. THE TESTIMONY OF JESUS.

1. The Positions of the Parties. We now come to testimony which, if explicit and unambiguous, should settle this controversy finally and forever. But at the threshold we encounter from both extremes of the new criticism objections to the introduction of it. Kuenen expresses the objection of the radical wing in words so striking and emphatic that they have been quoted often as the keynote of opposition from that quarter. He says:

We must either cast aside as worthless our dearly bought scientific method, or must forever cease to acknowledge the authority of the New Testament in the domain of the exegesis of the Old (*Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, 487).

Shocking as this statement must ever be to a believer in Christ, it presents the necessary position of unbelievers; for if Jesus Christ possessed no supernatural intelligence, he was incapable of giving competent testimony in regard to the authorship of Old Testament books. As a witness he must be ruled out, and ruled out he is, directly or indirectly, by all the analytical critics. On the contrary, to all believers in him his testimony settles all questions on which he has deigned to speak.

Kuenen, in the remark just quoted, betrays the unexpressed conviction that his "dearly bought scientific method" must be pronounced worthless, and must be cast aside as such, if the authority of the New Testament is acknowledged. In this he proves himself more candid and more logical than are many of his half-way pupils who profess faith in Christ. And let it not slip from our memory that the most radical of destructive critics recognize and frankly admit an irreconcilable antagonism

between their theories respecting the Old Testament, and the statements on the subject in the New Testament.

On the other hand, Prof. C. A. Briggs expresses the view of the "evangelical critics," in the following paragraph:

Those who still insist upon opposing higher criticism with traditional views, and with the supposed authority of Jesus Christ and his apostles, do not realize the perils of the situation. Are they ready to risk the divinity of Christ, the authority of the Bible, and the existence of the church, upon their interpretation of the words of Jesus and his apostles? Do they not see that they throw up a wall that will prevent any critic, who is an unbeliever, from ever becoming a believer in Christ and the Bible? They would force evangelical critics to choose between truth and scholarly research on the one side, and Christ and tradition on the other (*Bib. Study*, 196).

This author is equally opposed with Kuenen to the introduction of the testimony of the New Testament on this subject, but on opposite grounds. He has such confidence in the "dearly bought scientific method," that the thought of its being proved worthless does not excite his fears, but he sees in it great peril to "the divinity of Christ, the authority of the Bible, and the existence of the church." He sees in it the likelihood that no critic who is an unbeliever will ever become a believer, a change highly improbable under any circumstances; and he sees in it the dire necessity that such men as himself shall be forced to choose between the new criticism and Christ—a plain intimation that they would choose the new criticism.

And yet, this author, in another place, takes the highest ground in favor of submitting to the authority of Jesus and his apostles. He says:

The authority of Jesus Christ, to all who know him to be their divine Saviour, outweighs all other authority whatever. A Christian must follow his teachings in all things as the guide into all truth. The authority of Jesus Christ is involved in that of his apostles (*ib.*, 186).

Nothing could be better, or better said, than this. We should cast aside, then, all fear of consequences, and investigate with perfect candor the sayings of Jesus and the apostles on this subject. Whatever our conclusions derived from the study of the Old Testament may be, we must cast them aside as worthless, as Kuenen says, if we find them in conflict with the testi-

mony of the New Testament; and whatever the result as respects critics who are now unbelievers, we must let Christ be true if it makes every man a liar.

In order that our investigation of this most important question may be thorough, taking nothing for granted, we shall inquire first, Did Jesus *know* the facts involved in the Old Testament criticism? If he did not, then any affirmation by him on the subject proves nothing. Second, Did he *affirm* anything on this subject? If he both knew and affirmed, it follows that what he affirmed must be received with implicit faith by those who believe in him. Had our investigation of the Old Testament, which we have just now concluded, led us to accept the conclusions of the adverse critics, a contrary affirmation on the part of Jesus would be sufficient ground for reversing the decision, supposing that we had been misled by ingenious sophistry; but as the matter stands, this new testimony is not really needed except for the purpose of finding more solid ground for our final convictions, than human judgment at its best can afford.

2. Did Jesus Know? To the question, Did Jesus know who wrote the books of the Old Testament, the great lights of modern criticism, such as Wellhausen and Kuenen, together with all the lesser lights of the radical school, answer with an emphatic "No." Denying, as they do, his miraculous power, they also deny his miraculous knowledge, and claim that he knew, on such subjects, only what he learned from his teachers. They limit the knowledge of the apostles in the same way. As a necessary consequence, the testimony of Jesus on such subjects, no matter how explicit and positive it may be, has, with them, no weight whatever.

When believing scholars began to favor the Old Testament criticism of these unbelievers, they soon perceived that the testimony of Jesus and the apostles would have to be reckoned with, and so they put their ingenuity to work in the search for some method of evading the apparent force of this testimony. The first effort in this direction that came under my own observation was an essay in the *Expositor* for July, 1891, from the

pen of Dr. Alfred Plummer, under the heading, "The Advance of Christ in Sophia." Starting from the statement of Luke, that Jesus, when a child, "increased in stature and in wisdom" (*sophia* in the Greek), he argued that this increase in wisdom may have continued throughout the life of Jesus, and that, consequently, at every period of his life, even to the last, there may have been some things which he did not yet know, and among these the matters involved in Old Testament criticism. Add to the conclusion thus reached the fact that, according to his own statement, he did not know the day or the hour of his own second coming, and there remains but a short step to the conclusion that he may have been as yet ignorant of the authorship of the so-called book of Moses, and the reality of the facts recorded in it. A little later, Canon Gore introduced us to the doctrine of the *Kenosis*, as it is called, arguing the probability of our Lord's ignorance on critical subjects from the statement of Paul that though he was in the form of God, and thought it not a prize to be equal with God, he emptied himself, and took the form of a servant (Phil. ii. 6-8). This emptying included the laying aside of divine knowledge, so that he did not possess the latter while he was in the flesh. By this ingenious method of reasoning these gentlemen thought themselves justifiable in laying aside the testimony of him who had previously been regarded by all believers as the most important witness who could testify in the case. This they do "very reverently," and not with the irreverence with which infidel critics had already reached the same result. The accepted title of this process is "reverent criticism." Reverent it is in manner and tone, but not more so than the approach of Judas in the garden to kiss his Lord; and we are to see whether it is less deceptive.

I suppose that there is no intelligent person who now doubts that the knowledge of Jesus, during his infancy and his boyhood, was limited. But, after he received, at his baptism, the Holy Spirit without measure (John iii. 34), that Spirit which, in the words of Paul, knoweth all things, even the deep things

of God (I. Cor. ii. 10), who shall dare to assign any limit to his knowledge additional to that which he has himself assigned? Who but himself can now, or could then, have knowledge of even this limitation? He often displayed miraculous knowledge, as when he detected the unexpressed thoughts of men, when he gave directions to Peter with reference to the fish which he would catch with a stater in its mouth, and when he directed him and John about preparing the paschal supper. He also showed a conscious knowledge of his own pre-existence when he said to the Jews, "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it and was glad. Before Abraham was, I am" (John viii. 56, 58); and when he prayed to his Father, "I have glorified thee on the earth: I have finished the work that thou gavest me to do. And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory that I had with thee before the world was" (John xvii. 4, 5). If he had miraculous knowledge, as these facts demonstrate, who shall dare to set a limit to his exercise of it? Can a "reverent" critic do so?

Our Lord's own statement that he knew not the day or the hour of his second coming is one of the most astonishing utterances that ever fell from his lips. Its singularity is not realized until it is considered in its connection with the other things belonging to his second coming, which he did know. He knew that it would occur after the destruction of Jerusalem, and after Jerusalem shall cease to be trodden under foot by the Gentiles; he knew by whom he will be accompanied—by all the angels of God; he knew what men will be doing when he comes—that they will be engaged in all the avocations of life, as when the flood came upon the world, and as when fire came down upon Sodom; he knew what he will do when he comes—that he will awake all the dead, sit on a throne of glory, assemble all the descendants of Adam before him, dividing them as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats; he knew that he will call those on his right hand into his eternal kingdom, and expel those on his left into eternal fire prepared for the devil

and his angels. He even knew that two men would be in the same bed, that two women would be grinding at the same hand-mill, and that in each instance one would be taken and the other left. If he knew all this respecting his second coming, how is it possible that he did not know the precise time of it? This question no man on earth can answer; and I presume that the same is true of the angels in heaven. It would be an absolutely incredible statement, had it not come from lips that can not speak falsely. And are we not here justifiable in saying that he who assigns any other limit to the knowledge of Jesus is guilty of a presumption that is near akin to blasphemy? I think so. And I think that the soul of every man who worships Jesus as Lord must shudder at the thought of charging him with ignorance respecting the Holy Scriptures, which were written by holy men guided by his own Holy Spirit.

3 Did Jesus affirm? We now ask, Did Jesus make any explicit affirmations in respect to the authorship of Old Testament books, or to the reality of events recorded in them? Before producing any instances of the kind, I will first quote some of the utterances of scholars who deny that he did, and try to test the grounds of their denial; and, as Professor Briggs has elaborated the argument on the negative side more extensively than any other recent writer of my acquaintance, he shall be heard first.

Before I come to closer issues, it may benefit some readers to see how this professor deals with a sweeping remark by which it has become common to wave aside the whole discussion on which we are entering. Quoting this remark from its originator, the professor says:

Clericus went too far when he said that Jesus Christ and his apostles did not come into the world to teach criticism to the Jews. Then he adds: "The response of Herman Witsius, that Jesus came to teach the truth, and could not be imposed upon by common ignorance, or be induced to favor vulgar errors, is just" (*Bib. Study*, p. 184).

This answer must be approved by every one who has faith in Jesus as a teacher sent from God.

Immediately after pronouncing this just judgment, our professor proceeds to say: "And yet we can not altogether deny

the principle of accommodation in the life and teachings of Jesus." He supports this assertion by referring to what Jesus says of the permission of divorce under Moses, saying that "Moses, because of the hardness of their hearts, suffered ancient Israel to divorce their wives for reasons which the higher dispensation will not admit as valid." This proves that God, under the former dispensation, gave Israel a law which he would not have given had the state of their hearts been different; but how does this show that the principle of accommodation is found "in the *life and teachings of Jesus*"? The proof and the proposition to be proved are as far apart as Moses and Jesus. Moreover, it is not correct to say that the reasons for this law were such as "the higher dispensation will not admit as valid;" for, in presenting them to his hearers, Jesus did admit that they were valid at the time in which they were acted upon. Moses did right in granting the privilege of divorce at will, although it was not permitted in the beginning, and was not to be permitted under the new dispensation.

In pursuance of this same line of thought, Professor Briggs quotes from Dr. S. H. Turner the following sentence:

It is not required in a religious or inspired teacher, nor, indeed, would it be prudent or right, to shock the prejudices of his uninformed hearers, by inculcating truths which they are unprepared to receive (*ib.*, p. 185).

So far as this is intended to apply to the question in hand, truths about the authorship and credibility of Old Testament books, it is wide of the mark; for no one claims that Jesus should have corrected prevailing beliefs on critical questions. The only question is, Did he *affirm* the *correctness* of those beliefs? But, apart from this, the principle here laid down is untrue to the facts in the life of Jesus; for he was constantly shocking the prejudices of his hearers by inculcating truths which they were unprepared to receive; and it was on account of his persistence in inculcating such truths that they hated him and crucified him. The same is true of the apostles, and of all the prophets of Israel. The same is true also of Professor Briggs himself; for it was because of his inculcating,

what he regards as just such truths on higher criticism, in the presence of a people not prepared to receive them on account of their alleged ignorance, that he was tried as a heretic and dismissed from the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. This experience, which has come upon him since he wrote the book from which I quote, ought to convince him, if it has not, that the statement in question is erroneous.

On the next page (186) Professor Briggs repeats, in a slightly different form, but in closer connection with the question at issue, the remark just disposed of. He says: "There were no sufficient reasons why he should correct the prevailing views as to Old Testament books, and by his authority determine these literary questions." Of course, there were not; especially if those "prevailing views" were correct, as we believe. But no one claims that he should have corrected those views, even if they were incorrect. We claim only that, if they were incorrect, he could not have endorsed them; and the only question is, Did he, or did he not, endorse them?

Another evasive remark follows on the same page:

If they [Jesus and the apostles] used the language of the day in speaking of the Old Testament books, it does not follow that they adopted any of the views of authorship and editorship that went with these terms in the Talmud, or in Josephus, or in the apocalypse of Ezra; for we are not to interpret their words on this or any other subject by Josephus, or the Mishna, or the apocalypse of Ezra, or by any other external authorities, but by the plain grammatical and contextual sense of their words themselves.

All this is strictly true, but it amounts to nothing in this discussion. No one contends that the inspired utterances about Old Testament books involve an adoption of the views of any of the authors mentioned. Everybody agrees that these utterances are to be interpreted "by the plain grammatical and contextual sense of their words;" but in this interpretation reference must invariably be had to the sense in which his hearers understood the words employed. Jesus could not, in addressing certain hearers, employ the deceptive trick of using "the language of the day" in a sense quite different from what was customary, without an intimation that he was doing so. When,

then, he used "the language of the day" in speaking of Old Testament books, he used it as his hearers understood it, and his exact meaning is to be gathered from "the plain grammatical and contextual sense of the words themselves." I suppose that Professor Briggs would accept this modification of his remark.

After dealing with these general remarks of Professor Briggs intended to break in advance the force of any testimony of Jesus on critical questions, I now come to something more specific—his application of critical principles to the Book of Psalms. Here he does a gratuitous work by laboring to refute the idea that David wrote all of the psalms in this book. I think it impossible for any one who has ever read the Psalms to conclude that David wrote all of them, unless he should come to the question with a foregone conclusion, and employ the same kind of special pleading common with the destructive critics. A sample of this kind of sophistry, covering a whole page in fine type, is copied by the professor from an old Puritan commentary on Hebrews; and on reading it one is strikingly reminded of some later pages from the professor's own pen. Such is the New Testament evidence, however, in favor of the Davidic authorship of six of the Psalms, that on this evidence he admits them to be David's. This is an admission that the testimony of Jesus or an apostle on the question of authorship, when specific, is conclusive. Among the six is Psalm cx., and of this I wish to speak particularly, because it serves better than any other the purpose of determining whether the testimony of Jesus on the question of authorship is conclusive. Professor Briggs concedes that it is, at least in this instance, and yet he does not give the evidence its full force. His quotation of the words of Jesus is incomplete, and his argument based on them is weaker than the text justifies. But of this, more hereafter. (See *Bib. Study*, 187-190.)

Notwithstanding this decisive judgment expressed in *Biblical Study* in the year 1883, it is by no means certain that Professor Briggs is still of the same opinion. The critics of

his school are progressive; and the conclusions of to-day may not be those of to-morrow. Six years later, Professor Driver published his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, and he, though considered a conservative, takes the opposite ground. He says:

This Psalm [the 110th], though it may be ancient, can hardly have been composed by David (*Int.*, 384, note).

In support of this conclusion he indulges in some very singular reasoning. He first says: "If read without *prejudicium*, it produces the irresistible impression of having been written, not by a king with reference to an invisible spiritual being standing above him as his superior, but by a prophet *with reference to the theocratic king.*" Just so. This is precisely the way in which Jesus interprets it. He claims that it was written with reference to the theocratic king; that is, with reference to himself after he entered upon his mediatorial reign. It was not written by a king with reference to "an invisible spiritual being standing above him," but by a prophet, who was also a king, with reference to a glorified being in human form, yet destined to be far above every earthly king. The author goes on to give three reasons in support of this undisputed proposition; but as the proposition is admitted, it is not necessary to consider the reasons.

Not satisfied with this effort, the author, in the same paragraph, makes another and distinct attempt to get rid of the Lord's testimony. He says:

In the question addressed by our Lord to the Jews (Matt. xxii. 41-46; Mark xii. 35-37; Luke xx. 41-44) his object, it is evident, is not to instruct them on the *authorship* of the Psalm, but to argue from its *contents*; and though he assumes the Davidic authorship, accepted generally at the time, yet the cogency of his argument is unimpaired, so long as it is recognized that the Psalm is a Messianic one, and that the august language used in it of the Messiah is not compatible with the position of one who was a mere human son of David (*ib.*, 384, 385, note).

These remarks could be regarded as mere trifling were they not found in a volume written with the most serious purpose by a "reverent" author. They seem to have been written with only a vague remembrance of the words of Jesus to which

they refer, and certainly without a close examination of them. Let us see what Jesus actually says:

"Now while the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them a question, saying, What think ye of the Christ? whose son is he? They say unto him, The son of David. He saith to them, How then doth David in the spirit call him Lord, saying, The Lord saith to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand till I put thine enemies under thy feet? If David then calleth him Lord, how is he his son?"

It is as clear as day that the argument of Jesus depends for its validity on the fact that David is the author. True, as Professor Driver says, his object was not to "instruct them on the authorship;" for that they perfectly understood; yet his argument is worthless if David was not the author. If the author was some other prophet than David, what would be the sense of demanding, "If David calleth him Lord, how is he his son?" That he was the son of the man who called him Lord, is *the essential fact* in the argument; and any attempt to eliminate or to obscure this fact, is a bad case of wresting the Scriptures.

Professor Cheyne, the most radical of English critics, unites with the German radicals in denying the Davidic authorship of this Psalm, but, unlike Professor Driver and other conservatives, he saves himself the hopeless task of trying to reconcile this denial with the words of Jesus. (See his *Commentary on the Psalms*, xvi. 301.) In thus ruling Jesus out of court as a witness in the case, he plays a daring game, but he saves himself the necessity of wresting away from the words of Jesus the only meaning which they can convey. It is not easy to decide which is the preferable alternative. The man who takes either alternative antagonizes Jesus gratuitously, and he does so at his peril.

I now come to the testimonies of Jesus respecting the authorship of the Pentateuch. But, before considering particular instances of this testimony, it may be well to quote what Professor Driver says on the general question of such testimony:

There is no record of the question, whether a particular portion of the Old Testament was written by Moses, or David, or Isaiah, having

ever been submitted to him; and had it been so submitted, we have no means of knowing what his answer would have been (*Int.*, xii., xiii.).

This first statement is true; and it is equally true that no advocate of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch has ever claimed that such a question was submitted to Jesus. But Professor Driver knows, as well as he knows his own name, that a man may say who wrote a certain book, or part of a book, without having been questioned on the subject. I wonder if, in lecturing before his classes in the university, he never names the authors of books which he quotes till some student calls for the names. What kind of teacher would Jesus have been had he never given his hearers a piece of information till they called for it? And what would have been thought of him if, in quoting books to his hearers, he had never given the names of the authors quoted till they were called for? How could this ingenious writer have penned the sentence just quoted without being conscious that he was evading the question which he was professing to discuss? If this is throwing doubt on his perfect candor, respect for his good sense forces me to it.

True, we have no record of the question being submitted, Did Moses or David or Isaiah write this or that? but what does this amount to if we find Jesus, at his own initiative, affirming that Moses or David or Isaiah wrote this or that? Is his voluntary affirmation to be called in question or explained away because no one had called for it? I think not. Turn, then, to what I shall style one of his indirect affirmations, and let us come to closer quarters in the argument. In his disputation with the Sadducees, Jesus demanded: "Have ye not read in the book of Moses, how in the bush God spake to him, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?" (Mark xii. 26).

Now, it is admitted by all scholars that there was in the hands of the Jews at that period a book, always written as a single book, and known by them as "The Book of Moses." It is admitted that that book is the one known to us as the Pentateuch, now divided into five books. It is admitted that the

Jews universally believed that this book was written by Moses, and that for this reason they called it "The Book of Moses." When, then, addressing men who thus believed, Jesus calls it "The Book of Moses," did he confirm their belief that Moses was its author, or did he not? To test this, we need only to suppose that, after the conversation, some one had said to the Sadducee who had been the spokesman of his party, "That man Jesus does not believe that Moses wrote the book from which you and he quoted;" what would the Sadducee have answered? Would he not have said, "You are mistaken; he called it 'The Book of Moses,' just as we do; and if he did not mean what he said, he talks deceitfully."

Here we are met by an argument which Professor Briggs has stated with as much force as can be given it, and it is endorsed by all the "critics," whether "radicals" or "evangelicals." Quoting and endorsing the words of Professor Brown, his colleague, he says:

The use of a current pseudonym to designate the author no more committed Jesus to the declaration that that was the author's real name, than our use of the expression, "Junius says," would commit us to a declaration that the "Letters of Junius" were composed by a person of that name (*Bib. Study*, 189, 190, note).

This argument has more plausibility than the one quoted above from Professor Driver; but it is equally fallacious. To a class of students correctly informed as to the letters of Junius, Professor Briggs or Professor Brown could use the expression, "Junius says," without misleading them; but suppose either of them was addressing a class of students who were so ill-informed that they supposed a man whose real name was Junius to have been the author of these letters; and suppose that the professor, in addressing them, knew that they so thought; would he then feel at liberty to quote the letters again and again, saying, "Thus saith Junius"? Neither of them would think of doing it. They would be ashamed to do it. They would feel bound in honor to either inform the students, or quote the words as those of a distinguished writer without naming him. They would feel conscientiously bound to avoid

committing themselves before that class to its own ignorant conception. Yet they openly charge on Jesus our Lord a practice in which they would themselves disdain to indulge.

We may try this argument by another example. Neither of the three professors, Driver, Briggs nor Brown, believes that Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews; does any one of them ever quote that document as an epistle of Paul? Does any one of them ever say, "Thus saith the apostle Paul," and follow this with a quotation from Hebrews? They would consider it unmanly and deceptive to do so. Why, then, will they charge Jesus with quoting a book which he knew Moses did not write, and styling it "The Book of Moses"? How easily he could have avoided committing himself thus, by saying to the Sadducees, "Have ye not read in the book of your law?"

Such scholars as these would not thus wrest the words of Jesus, and do him this dishonor, were they not impelled by a false theory.

The testimony of Jesus respecting the authorship of Old Testament books has been passed over in a very cursory manner by most of the destructive critics. They have had little to say about it, because they have found little that they could say with profit to their own cause. Any position taken by respectable scholars which affects in the slightest degree the absolute authority belonging to all utterances of Jesus our Lord, or the absolute sanctity of his character, demands our profoundest consideration before we can consider it with favor. If he made any affirmation which was not true, his authority as a teacher is invalidated; and if he affirmed anything which he did not *know* to be true, he fell short of absolute truthfulness. Perfect veracity demands that a man shall not only avoid affirmations which he knows to be false, but all that he does not know to be true.

We ask, then, most solemnly, and with a view to the most candid answer, Did Jesus, on any occasion, affirm unequivocally the Mosaic authorship of the writings commonly ascribed to Moses? Let us try his words addressed to the Jews at the

feast of tabernacles, and recorded in John vii. 19: "Did not Moses give you the law, and yet none of you doeth the law?"

That the Jews had at that time a book which they knew as the law of Moses, and which we know as the Pentateuch, is unquestioned and unquestionable. It is equally unquestionable that by "the law" Jesus here meant that book; for, on any other hypothesis, we should have to suppose that he dealt uncandidly with his hearers. He could not have meant by "the law" some *nucleus* of the law which came from Moses, while the main body of it was an accumulation growing out of the experience of ages, as some critics have conjectured; for candor required him to use the expression as his hearers understood it. Neither could he have referred to any particular statute of the law which may have come from Moses, while the rest had some other origin; for his demand had reference to the law as a whole, of which he denied that any of them had kept it. They had all observed some parts of it, but none had kept it as a whole. There is no uncertainty, then, as to what he meant by "the law." What did he mean by the demand, "Did not Moses give you the law?"? In this question he employs the rhetorical figure of *erotesis*, which is the most emphatic form of making an assertion. It assumes that neither with the speaker nor with his hearers is any other answer possible but the one implied. Another example is the demand, "Did I not choose you, the twelve?" (John vi. 70). Another, the well-known words of Paul, "Was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptized into the name of Paul?" (I. Cor. i. 13). His demand, then, is the most emphatic assertion possible that neither with himself nor with his hearers could there be any doubt that Moses gave them the law. Affirmation of the Mosaic authorship of the law more emphatic or more explicit there could not be. But Jesus could not thus affirm that which he did not know to be true; and it follows as an irresistible conclusion that Jesus knew Moses to be the author of the law which the Jews connected with his name.

There is not room here for any of the evasive remarks employed by destructive critics to obscure the Lord's testimony.

The illustration of the letters of Junius can not be applied; for, to make it applicable, both the speaker and the hearer should believe that the author of the letters was a man named Junius, and both would be deceived. Professor Briggs' remark that when Jesus ascribes a certain law to Moses, he does not assume that Moses wrote the book in which that law is now found, can not apply; for it is of the law as a whole, and not of any particular statute, that the demand is made. Neither can Professor Driver's assertion, that no question raised by modern criticism was presented to Jesus for an answer, apply in this case; for, while it is true that no such question was propounded, Jesus did, without a question, make the demand of his own accord, and use the unquestioned fact of the Mosaic authorship to condemn his enemies. If any other than Moses had given the law, his argument would have been fallacious.

Finally, we must not fail to observe that, if Jesus had not desired to commit himself on the authorship of the law, it would have been the easiest thing in the world for him to have avoided it without weakening the rebuke which he administered. He could have said, as even radical critics are now willing to say, "Did not God give you the law?" meaning that God gave it, not by inspiration, but in a providential way. Or he could have said, "Do you not *believe* that Moses gave you the law? and yet none of you doeth it."

The fact that he chose neither of these, nor any other form of speech which would have been non-committal on the question of authorship, and that instead thereof he chose to commit himself in the most emphatic manner that human speech without an oath would permit, proves that it was his deliberate intention to do so, and to thus leave on record his positive testimony on this important question. If he had known—and who may say that he did not?—that this question would arise in the coming ages, he could not have anticipated it with a more decisive answer. How vain the remark, then, which we have quoted from Professor Driver, that if critical questions had been propounded to Jesus, we have no means of knowing how he would have answered them!

The most specific affirmation by Jesus of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is found in the fifth chapter of John, and it reads thus: "Think not that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, *even* Moses, on whom ye have set your hope. For if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me; for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" In this passage three facts receive emphasis, and they are emphasized as the grounds on which the unbelievers addressed are condemned. The first is that Moses, the Moses on whom they "set their hope," is their accuser. Second, the ground on which Moses accuses them is, that they did not believe what he wrote of Jesus: "If ye believe Moses, ye would believe me; for he wrote of me." A more explicit statement that Moses wrote of Jesus could not be framed in human speech. Third, the ground on which Moses accuses them is stated in another form, by the assertion that they believed not certain writings which are called his: "If ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?"

Now, it is a historical fact, unquestioned and unquestionable, as we have said before, that the Jews addressed by Jesus had certain writings which they knew as the writings of Moses. Jesus here distinctly recognizes them as such. Not only so, but by placing these writings of Moses in antithesis with his own words, he leaves as little room to doubt that these writings came from Moses as that his own words came from himself. Furthermore, he affirms, and makes it the basis of his argument, that in those writings Moses wrote of Jesus—in what passage or in what words, it is not needful that we now inquire—and he declares that Moses is the accuser of the unbelievers because they believed not what Moses thus wrote. If it was not Moses himself who thus wrote, and if the writings referred to as his were not his, then the argument of Jesus falls to the ground, and this whole passage from his lips is meaningless. And if here we have not an unequivocal and unmistakable affirmation of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, I defy any man to frame such an affirmation.

Perhaps some of my readers are ready to ask, What answer do the destructive critics give to this presentation? The question is pertinent. If they have no answer to give, they should hold their peace forever on the main issue. The radicals see the difficulty very clearly, and they answer, with all candor, that Jesus was mistaken. They make no effort to explain away his words. The Evangelicals, as Professor Briggs calls them, have seen the difficulty; it would be disparaging to them to hint that they have not; but, so far as my reading has extended, they have not grappled with it. This we shall now show as to Professors Driver and Briggs, by quoting all that they say on the subject.

4. The New Critics on This Testimony. Professor Driver formally introduces the issue on page xii. of the preface to his *Introduction*, and he states it thus:

It is objected, however, that some of the conclusions of critics respecting the Old Testament are incompatible with the authority of our blessed Lord, and that in loyalty to him we are precluded from accepting them.

After this very fair statement of the issue, he proceeds with a series of statements intended to show that the objection is not well taken. The first is a cautious approach to the discussion, and is stated in these words:

That our Lord appealed to the Old Testament as the record of a revelation in the past, and as pointing forward to himself, is undoubted; but these aspects of the Old Testament are perfectly consistent with a critical view of its structure and growth.

This remark is non-committal. Of course, these aspects of the Old Testament are consistent with a critical view of its structure and growth; for instance, with the critical view taken in Horne's *Introduction*, or in Bissell's *Origin and Structure of the Pentateuch*—the critical view which Driver and others now denounce as traditional. But the question is, Are they consistent with the critical view taken by Professor Driver? They are certainly not consistent with that taken by Kuenen and Wellhausen; for they both deny "a revelation" in the proper sense of the word, and they deny the "pointing forward" to Jesus of which Driver speaks. On the real issue, whether

they are consistent with the critical views of Driver and those who stand with him, he thus far gives only his affirmation.

His next remark is this:

That our Lord, in so appealing to it, designed to pronounce a verdict on the authority and age of its different parts, and to foreclose all future inquiry into these subjects, is an assumption for which no sufficient ground can be alleged.

This remark is totally irrelevant. The expression, "in so appealing to it," means, in the connection, appealing to it as "the record of a revelation in the past, and pointing forward to himself." As a matter of course, in so alluding to it he pronounced no verdict on the authorship and age of its different parts; neither has anybody ever said that he did. Why answer objections that have never been made? Why not answer the objections which have been made, instead of thus setting up and assailing men of straw? This is the common resort of sophists when they are conscious of inability to answer the real objections of their opponents.

But our critic continues in the same strain by adding:

Had such been his aim, it would have been out of harmony with the entire method and tenor of his teaching.

Had what been his aim? The reference is to pronouncing a verdict on the authority and age of the different parts of the Old Testament. But nobody pretends that such was his aim. We are inquiring whether he affirmed that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. We have never affirmed, and have never believed, that Jesus said anything about its age and its structure beyond what is involved in its authorship. Again we ask, why does so acute an author as Professor Driver continually evade the issue which he himself so clearly stated at the outset?

His next remark is this:

In no single instance, so far as we are aware, did he anticipate the results of scientific inquiry or historical research.

Perhaps he did not, when scientific inquiry and historical research are properly conducted; but what has this remark to do with the question at issue? Why did not Professor Driver say, In no single instance, so far as we are aware, did Jesus

say who gave the law to Israel? This would have been in point; but this he could not say.

Again our author says:

The aim of His teaching was a religious one; it was to set before men the pattern of a perfect life, to move them to imitate it, to bring them to himself.

Very good; but did he not, in doing this, rebuke men for not keeping the law which he said Moses gave them, and for not believing the writings of Moses in whom they put their trust? Why continue thus to evade the issue by irrelevant remarks?

In the next sentence we find an indirect admission of the truth, with an attempt to break its force:

He accepted, as the basis of his teaching, the opinions of the Old Testament current around him. He assumed, in his allusions to it, the premises which his opponents recognized, and which could not have been questioned (even had it been necessary to question them) without raising issues for which the time was not yet ripe, and which, had they been raised, would have interfered seriously with the paramount purpose of his life.

Strip this sentence of its ambiguity, and what does it mean? It means that Jesus accepted as the basis of his teaching the opinion, among others, that Moses was the author of the law. Did he accept as the basis of his teaching an opinion which he knew to be false? He certainly did if Moses was *not* the author of the law. It means that "he assumed," in his allusions to the law, "the premises which his opponents recognized." Did he assume premises which he knew to be false? So Professor Driver must think; for he thinks that the assumption of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is a false assumption, yet he holds Jesus guilty of that assumption.

The additional assertion in the last quotation, that these opinions which he accepted could not have been questioned without raising issues for which the time was not ripe, is of no force whatever; for, as I have said before, Jesus did raise issues for which the time was not ripe, for some of which he was persecuted, and for one of which he was crucified. He knew nothing of that time-serving policy which accepts false opinions and makes false assumptions to avoid conflicts which the fear-

less utterance of the truth would involve. Moreover, our contention is not that he should have corrected the opinion, supposing it to be false, that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, but that he would not and could not affirm the truth of that opinion, knowing it to be false. That he did affirm it, I have abundantly proved.

In order to fully represent Professor Driver's discussion of this issue, I must make one more quotation which I have already made use of in a former connection. He says:

There is no record of the question, whether a particular portion of the Old Testament was written by Moses or David or Isaiah, having ever been submitted to him, and, had it been submitted, we have no means of knowing what his answer would have been.

As we have said before, the first of these two assertions is true; but it makes all the more significant the fact that, without a question being submitted, he volunteered to affirm that David wrote the 110th Psalm, and that Moses gave the law. As to his last assertion, nothing that Professor Driver says in this whole discussion is wilder. When Jesus said, "Did not Moses give you the law, and yet none of you has kept it?" does not this indicate what his answer would have been if one of his hearers had asked him, "Did Moses give us the law?"? And when he said to another company of Jews, "If you do not believe his [Moses'] writings, how can ye believe my words?" does this give no indication of what answer he would have given had one asked him, "Do you then believe that these writings came from Moses?"?

In conclusion, I ask the reader, how can you account for this evasive and irrelevant method, on the part of so learned and logical an author as Professor Driver, in discussing so simple a question? When he has an open path before him his reasoning is clear and cogent. He walks with a steady step, like a strong man on solid ground. Why, then, this faltering and wandering when he comes to discussing the affirmations of Jesus respecting the Old Testament? Why does the strong man here betray such weakness? Why but because he here felt conscious of the weakness of his cause?

In *Biblical Study*, the most elaborate work written by Prof. Charles A. Briggs, a whole chapter is devoted to "The New Testament View of Old Testament Literature," and we shall now see more fully how he deals with the utterances of Jesus on the subject.

On page 192 he says: "Jesus speaks of the law of Moses (John vii. 23) and the book of Moses (Mark xii. 26)." He cites several other passages from Luke and Paul, and then adds:

These are all cases of *naming* books cited. They have as their parallel David as the name of the Psalter in Heb. iv. 7 and Acts iv. 25; Samuel, also of the Book of Samuel, Acts iii. 24. It is certainly reasonable to interpret Moses in these passages in the same way as the name of the work containing his legislation and the history in which he is the central figure.

We can judge of the correctness of these remarks only by seeing what is said in the passages cited. The first reads thus: "If a man receiveth circumcision on the sabbath, that the law of Moses be not broken, are ye wroth with me because I made a man every whit whole on the sabbath?" Is this a mere case of "naming" a book? There is nothing said of the book except by implication; but there is something said of a law, and it is called "the law of Moses." If Jesus did not mean to commit himself to the fact that this law was given by Moses, how easily he could have avoided doing so by saying that the *law* might not be broken. In the next preceding verse Jesus makes a statement preparatory to this, in which he recognizes as real the exact relation of this law to circumcision which is set forth in the Pentateuch. He says: "For this cause hath Moses given you circumcision (not that it is of Moses, but of the fathers); and on the sabbath ye circumcise a man." Here the fact that circumcision was first ordained in the time of the fathers, and not originated in the legislation of Moses, is set forth precisely as in our Pentateuch, and Moses is again credited with the legislation. It would be interesting to hear from Professor Briggs the reason why he deals thus with this passage. Had he quoted it, instead of merely citing it, he would scarcely have impugned the intelligence of his readers by using it as he does.

The second passage reads thus: "As touching the dead, that they are raised, have ye not read in the book of Moses, in the place concerning the bush, how God spake to him, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?" This is the naming of a book, or, more properly speaking, it is calling a book by its name; but it is more: it is the recognition of that name as a proper one; for if Jesus had not known that Moses was the author of the book, we can not believe that he would have confirmed the mistaken belief of his hearers by so styling it. How easily he could have avoided this, and still made his reference explicit, by saying, "The book of the law." These two passages confirm the testimony which they are employed to invalidate, by showing that Jesus indorsed the belief that Moses was the author of the book ascribed to him by the Jews.

But Professor Briggs tries still further to escape from this conclusion by citing alleged parallels in the use of the names of David and Samuel. As to David, the language of the text is this: "Saying in David, after so long a time, To-day, as it hath been before said, To-day if ye shall hear his voice, harden not your hearts." What right has Professor Briggs to say that the name "David" is here used "as the name of the Psalter"? The writer quotes from David, but not from the book of David, as Jesus quotes from "the book of Moses." The Jews knew no book of David. Their book of Psalms, like our own, contained some compositions ascribed to David, some to other writers, and many to no particular author. No Jew who had ever read the book through could have supposed that David wrote them all. When they quoted David, then, they quoted some Psalm which they supposed to have been written by David; and this passage in Hebrews assumes only that David wrote the Psalm from which the quotation is made.

The professor's remark about Samuel, just quoted above, has reference to an argument advanced by him on a previous page, and one which I believe to be original with him. He makes much use of it, and it is worthy, on this account, of par-

ticular notice. On page 190 the author quotes the words of Peter, "All the prophets, from Samuel and them that followed after, as many as have spoken, they also told of these days;" and he adds:

The reference here is to the Book of Samuel, for the reason that there is no Messianic prophecy ascribed to Samuel in the Old Testament. The context forces us to think of such an one. We find it in the prophecy of Nathan in the Book of Samuel. These historical books then bore the name of Samuel, and their contents are referred to as Samuel's.

This is an ingenious piece of argumentation; but it is marked by two fatal defects. First, it assumes as a fact that "these historical books then bore the name of Samuel," whereas they bore no name in the Hebrew text; they were styled the first and second books of Kingdoms in the Septuagint; and they were never called the first and second books of Samuel till A. D. 1488, when they were so styled in Bomberg's printed Hebrew Bible. Such a blunder is a severe satire on an expert in historical criticism, and to base a boasted original argument on it is not a brilliant illustration of the "scientific method." This fact demolishes the foundation of the argument. Furthermore, if it is true that no Messianic prophecy is ascribed to Samuel in the Old Testament, the fact that one is ascribed to him in the New Testament ought to satisfy a man who believes in Christ and in the inspiration of his apostles. When Peter said that Samuel prophesied of the days of Christ, we ought to presume that Peter knew what he was talking about.

The second argument by Professor Briggs is expressed in the following paragraph:

Jesus represents Moses as a lawgiver, giving the Ten Commandments (Mark vii. 10), the law of the leper's offering (Mark i. 44, etc.), the law of divorce (Matt. xix. 7), the law in general (John vii. 19). The Epistle to the Hebrews represents Moses as giving the law of priesthood (Heb. vii. 14), and as a lawgiver whose law, when issued at the time, could not be disobeyed with impunity (Heb. x. 28). These passages all represent Moses to be the lawgiver that he appears to be in the narratives of the Pentateuch, but do not by any means imply the authorship of the narratives that contain these laws, any more than the reference in I. Cor. ix. 14 to the command of Jesus in Luke x. 7, and the institution of the Lord's Supper by Jesus (I. Cor. xi. 23), imply that he was the author of the Gospels containing his words (*Bib. Study*, p. 193).

Here, again, in the citations from Jesus, he hides among a number of sayings of the Master, which, taken apart from others, are not specific affirmations of the authorship in question, one that is; viz.: the interrogation in John vii. 19, "Did not Moses give you the law, and yet none of you doeth the law?" Why did not the professor single out this passage, as his opponents have done, and show that it does not affirm the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch? If he could show that in the minds and speech of the Jews addressed by Jesus there was a distinction between the "law" and what we call the Pentateuch, he would have met the argument in part. But even then he would have had to show that Christ meant not the law as a whole, but only that nucleus of the law which critics ascribe to Moses, as distinguished from the civil law in Deuteronomy, and the Levitical law, both of which, as he himself affirms, were given by unknown persons many centuries after the death of Moses. Even what he does make out of the passage, that Moses gave "the law in general," contradicts his own conclusions and those of all the critics with whom he stands.

There is another anomaly in these citations from Jesus. Because Jesus says, in Mark vii. 10, "Moses said, Honor thy father and mother," the professor says that Jesus, in these words, represents Moses as giving the Ten Commandments. Why this conclusion? Why not reason as he does about other remarks of the same kind, and say, This does not represent Moses as giving the whole of the Ten Commandments, "not by any means;" it shows only that he gave the one about honoring father and mother. Well, it suits the theory to admit that Moses gave the Decalogue, and so the mode of reasoning which is scientific and conclusive in analogous cases is tossed aside in this.

If Heb. vii. 14, as is asserted above, represents Moses as giving the law of priesthood, this contradicts the accepted critical theory of the priesthood; for it is claimed that there was no law of the priesthood till long after Moses; that Ezekiel foreshadowed it, and that it was first made a law in the time of Ezra, or a short time previous. The passage reads thus: "For

it is evident that our Lord hath sprung out of Judah; as to which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priests." The writer's argument assumes that if Moses spake nothing as respects priesthood in a certain tribe, then a man of that tribe could not be a priest. What more positive implication could we have that the law of the priesthood was all given by Moses, and not by an unknown priestly writer (P) a thousand years after the death of Moses?

The passage cited from Heb. x. 28 reads: "A man that hath set at nought Moses' law dieth without compassion on the word of two or three witnesses." This shows that all the statutes with the death penalty attached came from Moses. But these are scattered all through the Pentateuch, intermingled with the others too closely to be separated. Immediately after these citations the professor inadvertently gives his whole cause away, by saying: "These passages all represent Moses to be the law-giver that he appears to be in the narratives of the Pentateuch." But in the narratives of the Pentateuch Moses is represented as receiving from God and giving to the people every single statute of the law, both civil and religious. These passages, then, either misrepresent Moses, or the critical theory of the origin of the law is false, according to Professor Briggs' own representation.

But the professor, not perceiving how completely he had given away his cause, makes the argument that while these passages prove Moses to be the lawgiver that he appears to be in the Pentateuch, they do not imply his authorship of the narratives that contain these laws, any more than Paul's allusions to teachings of Christ found in Luke's Gospel prove that Jesus wrote this Gospel. The conclusion does not follow, because the cases are not parallel. The author of this Gospel starts out with an explicit statement of his reason for writing in which he distinguishes between himself and Jesus. Secondly, no man among those to whom Paul wrote was laboring under the impression that Jesus wrote that Gospel, but all the readers to whom he and the other apostles wrote believed that Moses wrote the law, and they necessarily understood allusions to its author-

ship accordingly. Finally, when Paul wrote First Corinthians, Luke's Gospel was not yet in existence, and it is absurd to speak of Paul's making allusions to it. It was written several years later, and some of the professor's fellow critics place it at least twenty years later. He knows this perfectly well; but in his eagerness to make a point he ignored it and committed this absurdity. This is more inexcusable than the mistake about Samuel.

I now take up his third argument on these testimonies. He says:

Jesus represents Moses as a prophet who wrote of him (John v. 6); so Philip (John i. 45); Peter (Acts iii. 22-24); Stephen (Acts vii. 37); Paul (Acts xxvi. 22); and in Rom. x. 5-19 the apostle refers to the address in Deuteronomy xxx. and the song in Deuteronomy xxxii. These passages maintain that certain *prophecies* came from Moses, but do not maintain that the Pentateuch, as a whole, or the narratives in which these prophecies occur, were written by Moses.

Here, again, the professor takes one of the most explicit of the testimonies of Jesus, and, instead of attempting, in a direct manner, to refute the argument that is based upon it, mixes it up with a number of less explicit passages, and tosses them all aside as ascribing only certain *prophecies* to Moses. The passage thus treated can be styled a mere ascription of a certain prophecy to Moses only by ignoring an essential part of it. It reads thus: "For if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me, for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" "His writings!" What were meant by these? What writings did his hearers necessarily understand him to mean? There is no answer but one; he meant those writings known to his hearers and to us as the writings of Moses. He meant the Pentateuch; and I venture to say that Professor Briggs can not squarely face these words and deny it. He was not ignorant of these words when he wrote his book; why did he not face them squarely, and show, if he could, that they have a meaning consistent with his theory? I should be glad to see him or some of his friends undertake the task even now. I invite them to it.

The true method of treating all the sayings of Jesus and the apostles on this subject is to ascertain from some unambiguous utterances precisely what they taught, and then to interpret their other utterances in harmony with these. This I have endeavored to do; and by this process it is made clear that, when they speak of any law, statute, prediction, or other sayings of Moses, they contemplate it as a part of the writing then and since ascribed to Moses; *i. e.*, the Pentateuch.

Ten years later than the publication of *Biblical Study*, the work from which I have copied Professor Briggs' arguments thus far, he published a smaller book entitled *Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*, in which he goes over the same ground again. In it he reproduces, word for word, the three arguments on which I have commented; but he has some additional matter to which, in justice to him, I should perhaps pay attention.

But some one will say, Was it not the common opinion in the days of our Lord that Moses wrote the Pentateuch? We answer that, so far as we know, it was the common opinion that David wrote the Psalter. As to the Pentateuch, opinion was divided whether it was lost when the temple was destroyed by the king of Babylon, and restored or recast by Ezra or not (p. 28).

What kind of reasoning is this? He answers the question whether the Jews thought that Moses wrote the Pentateuch by stating that, "so far as we know, they thought that David wrote the Psalter." If I were asked, Has it not been the common opinion that Professor Briggs wrote *Biblical Study*, and were to answer, So far as we know, it was once the common opinion that Shakespeare wrote *Mother Goose's Melodies*, the answer would be equally relevant. "So far as we know" is well put in. It means that we know nothing about it. But we do know that no Jew of common sense who ever read the Psalter could have thought that David wrote the whole of it. And we do know, and Professor Briggs knows we know, that the Jews of our Lord's Day believed Moses to be the author of the Pentateuch. Even those who thought that the law was lost for a time and then restored by Ezra, if any of them lived this early, believed that it was originally written by Moses.

Following this on the same page, the professor demands, "Why should we interpret Jesus and his apostles by the opinions of the Jews of his time?" This question is easily answered. If I should step into the professor's classroom some day, and find him quoting to a class the Epistle to the Hebrews, and constantly saying with every quotation, Paul says this, and Paul says that, I might demand of him, "Professor, do you not know that all the members of this class have fallen into the mistake that Paul wrote this epistle? And are you not confirming them in this false opinion by quoting it as Paul's?" I suppose he would turn upon me with indignation, and demand, "Why should I be interpreted by the opinions of this class?" Were I bold enough, my reply would be, "Why are you deceiving this class by propagating an opinion that you hold to be false?" This is the attitude in which his argument places Jesus.

He says on the same page:

If we should say that Jesus did not know whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch or not, we would not go beyond his own saying that he knew not the time of his own advent.

This is as much as to say, that because Jesus says of himself that he did not know a certain thing, we may say of him that he did not know another and very different thing. Because Professor Briggs says that he does not know the day and hour when he will die, I may say of him that he does not know who his grandmother was. I rather think that he did not know anything about logic when he was writing this sentence. All that he ever knew of logic, like Nebuchadnezzar's dream, has passed from him for the time being.

One more quotation, taken from page 29, will bring us to the end of the professor's strange series of arguments, or, rather, of statements:

If, on the other hand, any one should say, Jesus must have known all things, and he ought not to have used language that might deceive men, we respond, that his language does not deceive men. Literary usage in all ages and in the Bible itself shows that it is equally truth and good language for the critics and the anti-critics. The question is, Shall we interpret the language of Jesus by the opinions of his contemporaries? This we deny. Jesus was not obliged to correct all the

errors of his contemporaries. He did not correct their false views of science. He was the great Physician, but he did not teach medicine. He was greater than Solomon, and yet he declined to decide questions of civil law and politics. He never rebuked slavery. Is he responsible for slavery on that account? The Southern slaveholders used to say so. But even they are now convinced of their error.

Let us take up this string of assertions, and see what is in them. First, "His language does not deceive men." True, if Moses "gave the law," and if the books of the Pentateuch were "his writings," as Jesus positively affirms; but false if these writings, as Professor Briggs teaches, were written several centuries after Moses died. Second, "Jesus was not obliged to correct all the errors of his contemporaries." But nobody ever said that he was. We only say that he did not and would not affirm as truths any of their errors. Third, "He did not correct any of their false views of science." Of course not; but if he had affirmed any of them, as he affirmed their view of the authorship of the Pentateuch, we should never have heard the last of it from the lips of infidels; and Professor Briggs would have been unable to defend him. Fourth, "He was a great Physician, but he did not teach medicine." True; but suppose he had taught the false medical notions of his day, what would all of our M. D.'s of the present day have had to say? Suppose he had taught what some people now call Christian Science! Fifth, "He declined to decide questions of civil law and politics." Yes; but suppose he had decided them. Suppose he had decided in favor of free silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; what would the gold-bugs have to say? And what a plank his decision would have been in the Democratic platform! Sixth, "He never rebuked slavery. Is he responsible for slavery on that account?" Of course not; and the Southern slaveholders never said he was. They only said what Professor Briggs says, that he never rebuked it. But suppose he had said that slavery was right, just as he said that Moses gave the law; what then? How then could Professor Briggs have said that slavery was wrong? And how can he now say that Moses did not give the law? He

could have said the former only by denying the authority of Jesus, and this is the only way in which he can say the latter.

5. Did the Apostles Affirm? We have seen, in the preceding section, that Jesus our Lord most positively and explicitly affirmed the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. For proof of the fact that Moses was its author we need to go no further, for with believers in Christ no other proof can make stronger an explicit assertion by him. But lest, in the mind of some reader, the explicitness of his affirmations has not been made perfectly clear, we proceed to show how his apostles expressed themselves, and to show in this way both what they were led by the Holy Spirit to say, and how they understood the utterances on this subject of their divine Master. I am aware that with some persons who claim to attach full credit to the utterances of Christ, the testimony on such a question given by the apostles has little or no weight. The cry "Back to Christ," which has been of late shouted so vociferously, is by some, whose shout is the loudest, meant not only for the disregard of all authority this side of the New Testament, but of apostolic authority as well. It means that nothing in the New Testament is to be regarded by them as authoritative except the personal utterances of Jesus himself. It means that even these are not to be regarded as authority until the reports of them in our Gospels pass through the crucible of "modern criticism," to determine whether they have been faithfully delivered. But this professed exaltation of Christ is in reality a disparagement of him; for it is his own authority which affirms the authority of his apostles, promising them infallible guidance, and saying to them, "He that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me." On this point I am glad to quote again an utterance by Professor Briggs, who says: "The authority of Jesus Christ to all who know him to be their divine Saviour, outweighs all other authority whatever. A Christian man must follow his teachings in all things as the guide into all truth. The authority of Jesus Christ is involved in that of the apostles." No man who accepts this dictum can think

of making the distinction of which we speak; and no man who credits what Jesus says about the inspiration of the apostles, or regards what they say of their own inspiration as anything more than idle boasting, can call this dictum in question. We proceed, then, to cite the testimony of the apostles with full confidence that it will be implicitly credited by all but rationalists.

The apostle Peter shall be our first witness. In his second recorded sermon, he says: "Moses indeed said, A prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you from among your brethren, like unto me; to him shall ye hearken in all things whatsoever he shall speak unto you. And it shall be, that every soul, which shall not hearken to that prophet, shall be utterly destroyed from among the people." This is a free extract from Deuteronomy (xviii. 15-19); and Peter testifies that it was spoken by Moses. It is part of one of the speeches ascribed to Moses in that book. It is conceded that Peter's hearers credited the whole speech and the whole Book of Deuteronomy as having come from Moses; and as Peter uses the passage to show them that Moses predicted the coming of Jesus, his argument was both fallacious in itself, and deceptive to his hearers, if the book had any other origin. No ingenuity can set aside this conclusion or destroy the force of it.

Our next witness is the apostle John. In the first chapter of his Gospel, after setting forth the pre-existence and the advent of Jesus, and quoting a brief testimonial from John the Baptist, he says: "The law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." Here is the same testimony given by Jesus himself in a slightly different form. It is a positive affirmation that the law was given by Moses; and the person of Moses as the giver of the law is put in antithesis with the person of Christ as the bestower of grace and truth. Notice, further, it is not some particular law or statute that is spoken of, but "the law"—an expression which always in the speech of the Jews meant the work which we call the Pentateuch. John, then, was mistaken, and he misleads the read-

ers of his Gospel, whether Jews or Gentiles, if the Pentateuch did not come from the hand of Moses.

The testimony of Paul is equally explicit. I shall use only one testimonial from him. In contrasting the righteousness of the law with that obtained through faith in Christ, he says: "For Moses writeth that the man that doeth the righteousness which is of the law shall live thereby." Here Moses is represented as the writer; and what he is said to have written is not some particular sentence; for the words Paul uses are not found in the Pentateuch, but they set forth the substance of what Moses taught in reference to righteousness and the life which it secures. It is, then, an assertion that the law in general was written by Moses, and, in arguing thus to Jewish readers whom he had especially in mind, Paul must be understood as using the term in the sense ascribed to it by the Jews. It is an assertion that Moses was the writer of the law, as explicit as the assertion by John that Moses gave the law.

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who, I confidently believe, after having studied all the arguments to the contrary, was Paul, makes a greater number of assertions of the Mosaic authorship than any other New Testament writer, and with those who believe that this epistle had an inspired source, the authority of its author is not inferior to that of Peter and John. But if any question can be settled by the authority of inspired apostles, this one is already settled by the statements of Peter, John and Paul.

§11. CONCLUSION.

In drawing this discussion to a close, it seems proper to state, in a summary form, what the author seems to himself to have accomplished.

After stating in the introduction the position of the parties to the discussion, and the exact issue between them, we have taken up, one by one, all of the evidences, from whatever source derived, which have been relied upon by the friends of the analytical theory as decisive proof of the late date which

they assign to the Book of Deuteronomy, and have carefully considered their merits. We have presented these evidences in the words of such scholars as have set them forth in their most convincing forms. We have not knowingly failed to present the arguments by which these evidences are enforced, in their full strength. We have aimed to look at them from every point of view. We have dealt with them as an antagonist, but not, as the author knows himself, with the desire or the willingness to take any unfair advantage of them. The subject has been on the author's mind as a subject of serious thought, and during long periods a subject of absorbing thought, for more than forty years. Nothing of special importance that has been written on either side in that time has escaped his notice. He considers himself, therefore, competent to express a judgment on the course of the argumentation, and he can not feel that he is egotistic in expressing the conviction that he has refuted in Part First of this work all of the arguments supposed to be decisive in support of the so-called critical theory of Deuteronomy. That the final decision of believing scholars will be against that theory he can not doubt.

On the other hand, while the array of evidence in proof of the Mosaic authorship which has been presented, is not exhaustive, the author feels thoroughly convinced of its conclusiveness; and he will hereafter, as heretofore, implicitly trust the representation which the book makes of itself, and which is made of it by our Lord and his inspired apostles. I can afford to believe what the apostles believed, what Jesus believed, and be satisfied. Humbly trusting that this product of my profoundest study and my maturest years may be blessed of God to help my readers into the same satisfaction, I now, with a sigh of relief from a severe and long-continued mental strain, commit my work to the fate which the Disposer of all things has prepared for it.

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